

RELATION OR

Journall of the beginning and proceedings
of the English Plantation setled at *Plimoth* in New
ENGLAND, by certaine English Aduenturers both
Merchants and others.

With their difficult passage, their safe ariuall, their
ioyfull building of, and comfortable planting them-
selues in the now well defended Towne
of NEW PLIMOTH.

AS ALSO A RELATION OF FOVRE
seucrall, discoueries since made by some of the
same English Planters there resident.

*I. In a iourney to PVCKANOKICK the habitation of the Indians great-
est King Massasoyt : as also their message, the answer and entertainment
they had of him.*

*II. In a voyage made by ten of them to the Kingdome of Nawset, to seek
a boy that had lost himselfe in the woods : with such accidents as befell them
in that voyage.*

*III. In their iourney to the Kingdome of Namaschet, in defense of their
greatest King Massasoyt, against the Narrohiggonsets, and to revenge the
supposed death of their Interpreter Tisquantum.*

IIII. Their voyage to the Massachusetts, and their entertainment there.

With an answer to all such obiections as are any way made
against the lawfulnessse of English plantations
in those parts.



LONDON,

Printed for Iohn Bellamie, and are to be sold at his shop at the two
Greyhounds in Cornhill neere the Royall Exchange.

NOT A TEST

Original is in the

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London

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TO HIS MUCH RE-

spected Friend, M^r. I. P.



Good Friend : As wee cannot but account it an extraordinary blessing of God in directing our course for these parts, after we came out of our native country, for that we had the happinesse to be possessed of the comforts we receiue by the benefit of one of the most pleasant, most healthfull, and most fruitfull parts of the world : So must wee acknowledge the same blessing to bee multiplied vpon our whole company, for that we obtained the honour to receiue allowance and approbation of our free possession, and enioying thereof vnder the authority of those thrice honoured Persons, the *President* and *Counsell* for the affaires of *New-England*, by whose bounty and grace, in that behalfe, all of vs are tied to dedicate our best seruice vnto them, as those vnder his Majestie, that wee owe it vnto : whose noble endeouours in these their

actions the God of heauen and earth multiply to his glory and their owne eternall comforts.


As for this poore Relation, I pray you to accept it, as being writ by the seuerall Actors themselues, after their plaine and rude manner; therefore doubt nothing of the truth thereof: if it be defectiue in any thing, it is their ignorance, that are better acquainted with planting then writing. If it satisfieth those that are well affected to the businesse, it is all I care for. Sure I am the place we are in, and the hopes that are apparent, cannot but suffice any that will not desire more then enough, neither is there want of ought among vs but company to enioy the blessings so plentifully bestowed vpon the inhabitants that are here. While I was a writing this, I had almost forgot, that I had but the recommendation of the relation it selfe, to your further consideration, and therefore I will end without saying more, saue that I shall alwaies rest

From PLIM OTH in
New-England.



*Tours in the way of
friendship, R. G.*

To the Reader.

 Ourteous Reader, be intreated to make a fauorable construction of my forwardnes, in publishing these in seuing discourses, the desire of carrying the Gospell of Christ, into those forraigne parts, amongst those people that as yet haue had no knowledge, nor tast of God, as also to procure vnto themselves and others a quiet and comfortable habytation: Weare amongst other things the inducements (vnto these vndertakers of the then hopefull, and now experimentally knowne good enterprize for plantation, in New England, to set afoote and prosecute the same & though it fared with them, as it is common to the most actions of this nature, that the first attempts proue diffecult, as the sequell more at large expresseth, yet it hath pleased God, euē beyond our expectation in so short a time, to giue hope of letting some of them see (though some he hath taken out of this vale of teares) some grounds of hope, of the accomplishment of both those endes by them, at first propounded.

And as my selfe then much desired, and short-

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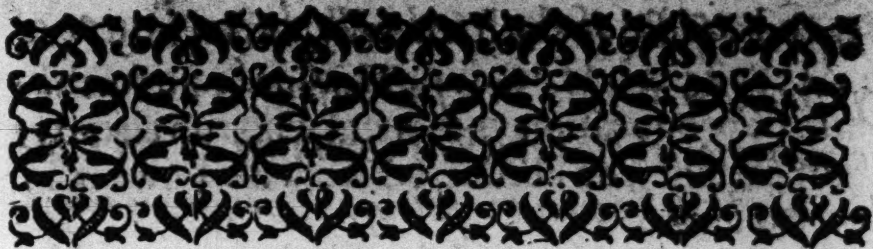
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To the Reader.

ly hope to effect, if the Lord will, the putting to of my shoulder in this hopefull business, and in the meane time, these relations comming to my hand from my both known & faithfull friends, on whose writings I do much rely, I thought it not a misse to make them more generall, hoping of a cheerefull proceeding, both of Aduenturers and planters, in- treating that the example of the hon: Virginia and Bermudas Companies, incountering with so many distasters, and that for diuers yeares together, with an vnwearied resolution, the good effects whereof are now eminent, may preuaile as a spurre of preparation also touching this no lesse hopefull Country though yet an infant, the extent & comodities whereof are as yet not fully known, after time wil vnfold more: such as desire to take knowledge of things, may in forme themselves by this insuing treatise, and if they please also by such as haue bin there a first and second time, my hartty prayer to God is that the euent of this and all other honorable and honest vndertakings, may be for the furtherance of the kingdome of Christ, the inlarging of the bounds of our Soueraigne Lord King Iames, & the good and profit of those, who either by purse, or person, or both, are agents in the same, so I take leaue and rest

Thy friend, G. M O V R T.



CERTAINE VSEFVL ADVERTISEMENTS SENT

in a Letter written by a discrete friend vn-
to the Planters in *New England*, at their first setting
saile from Southhampton, who earnestly desireth
the prosperitie of that their new
Plantation.

* *



Ouing and Christian friends, I doe
heartily and in the Lord salute you
all, as being they with whom I am
present in my best affection, and most
earnest longings after you, though I
be constrained for a while to be bodily absent from
you, I say constrained, God knowing how willing-
ly and much rather then otherwise I would haue
haue borne my part with you in this first brunt,
were I not by strong necessitie held backe for the
present. Make account of me in the meane while,
as of a man denided in my selfe with great paine,
and as (naturall bonds set aside) hauing my better
part with you. And though I doubt not but in
your godly wisdomes you both foresee and re-
solue vpon that which concerneth your present

state and condition both severally and ioynly, yet haue I thought but my dutie to adde some further spurre of prouocation vnto them who run already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in loue and dutie.

And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, speciall for our sinnes knowne, and generall for our vnknowne trespasses; so doth the Lord call vs in a singular maner vpon occasions of such difficultie and danger as lieth vpon you, to a both more narrow search and carefull reformation of our wayes in his sight, lest he calling to remembrance our sinnes forgotten by vs or vnrepented of, take aduantage against vs, and in iudgement leaue vs for the same to be swallowed vp in one danger or other; whereas on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance and the pardon thereof from the Lord, sealed vp vnto a mans conscience by his Spirit, great shall be his securitie and peace in all dangers, sweete his comforts in all distresses, with happie deliuerance from all euill, whether in life or in death.

Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our owne consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men what in vs lieth, especially with our associates, and for that end watchfulness must be had, that we neither at all in our selues do giue, no nor easily take offence being giuen by others. Woe be vnto the world for offences, for though it be necessary (considering the malice of Satan and mans corruption) that offences come, yet woe vnto the man or woman either by whom the

the offence cometh, saith Christ, Math. 18. 7. And if offences in the vnreasonable vse of things in them selues indifferent, be more to be feared then death it selfe, as the Apostle teacheth, 1. Cor. 9. 15. how much more in things simply euill, in which neither honour of God nor loue of man is thought worthy to be regarded.

Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep our selues by the grace of God from giuing offence, except withall we be armed against the taking of them when they are giuen by others. For how vnperfect and lame is the worke of grace in that person, who wants charitie to couer a multitude of offences, as the Scriptures speake. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace onely vpon the common grounds of Christianitie, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want charitie to couer offences, or wisdom duly to weigh humane frailtie, or lastly are grosse, though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Math. 7. 1, 2, 3. as indeed in mine owne experience, few or none haue beene found which sooner giue offence, then such as easily take it; neither haue they euer proued sound and profitable members in societies, which haue nourished in themselves that touchey humour. But besides these, there are diuers speciall motiues prouoking you aboue others to great care and conscience this way: As first, you are many of you strangers, as to the persons, so to the infirmities one, of another, and so stand in neede of more watchfulnesse this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinately af-

fects with them; which doth require at your hands much wisdom and charity for the covering and preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly your intended course of civill communie wil minister continuall occasion of offence, and will be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence causlessly or easily at mens doings be so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himselfe, which yet we certainly do so oft as we do murmur at his providence in our crosses, or beare impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he pleaseth to visit vs. Store we vp therefore patience against the euill day, without which we take offence at the Lord himselfe in his holy and iust works.

A fourth thing there is carefully to be provided for, to wit, that with your common emp'loiments you ioyne common affections truly bent vpon the generall good, auoiding as a deadly plague of your both common and speciall comfort all retirednesse of minde for proper aduantage, and all singularly affected any maner of way; let euery man repress in himselfe and the whole bodie in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all private respects of mens selues, not sorting with the generall conueniencie. And as men are carefull not to haue a new house shaken with any violence before it be well settled and the parts firmly knit: so be you, I beseech you brethren, much more carefull, that the house of God which you are and are
to

to be, be not shaken with vnnecessary nouelties or other oppositions at the first settling thereof.

Lastly, whereas you are to become a body politic, vsing amongst your selues ciuill gouernment, and are not furnished with any persons of speciall eminiencie aboue the rest, to be chosen by you into office of gouernment: Let your wisedome and godlinesse appeare, not onely in chusing such persons as do entirely loue, and will diligently promote the common good, but also in yeelding vnto them all due honour and obedience in their lawfull administrations; not beholding in them the ordinarinesse of their persons, but Gods ordinance for your goods; nor being like vnto the foolish multitude, who more honour the gay coate, then either the vertuous mind of the man, or glorious ordinance of the Lord. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lords power and authoritie which the Magistrate beareth, is honorable, in how meane persons focuer. And this dutie you both may the more willingly, and ought the more conscionably to performe, because you are at least for the present to haue onely them for your ordinary gouernours, which your selues shall make choise of for that worke.

Sundrie other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned in more words, but I will not so far wrong your godly minds, as to thinke you heedlesse of these things, there being also diuers among you so well able to admonish both themselues and others of what concerneth them. These few things therefore, and
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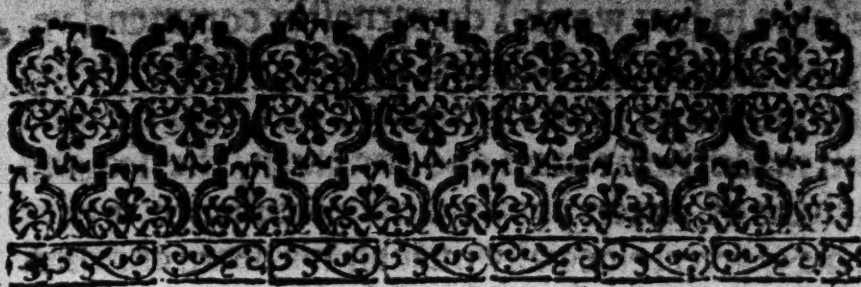
the same in few words I do earnestly commend vnto
to your care and conscience, ioyning therewith my
daily incessant prayers vnto the Lord, that he who
hath made the heauens and the earth, the sea and
all riuers of waters, and whose prouidence is ouer
all his workes, especially ouer all his deare children
for good, would so guide and guard you in your
wayes, as inwardly by his Spirit, so outwardly by
the hand of his power, as that both you and we al-
so, for and with you, may haue after matter of prai-
sing his Name all the days of your and our liues.
Fare you well in him in whom you trust, and in
whom I rest

*An unfained well-willer
of your happie successe
in this hopefull voyage,*

I. R.



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vs
ou
So



A RELATION OR
IOVRNALL OF THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE
Plantation setled at *Plimoth* in
NEW ENGLAND.



Ednesday the sixt of *Septem-
ber*, the Wind comming East
North East, a fine small gale,
we loosed from *Plimoth*, ha-
ving beene kindly intertained
and curteously vsed by diuers
friends there dwelling, and af-
ter many difficulties in boy-
sterous stormes, at length by
Gods providence vpon the
ninth of *November* following,

by breake of the day we espied land which we deemed to
be *Cape Cod*, and so afterward it proued. And the appea-
rance of it much comforted vs, especially, seeing so good-
ly a Land, and woodded to the brinke of the sea, it caused
vs to reioyce together, and praise God that had giuen vs
once againe to see land. And thus wee made our course
South South West, purposing to goe to a River ten leagues

to the South of the Cape, but at night the winde being contrary, we put round againe for the Bay of *Cape Cod*: and vpon the 11. of *November*, we came to an anchor in the Bay, which is a good harbour and pleasant Bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about foure miles ouer from land to land, compassed about to the very Sea with Okes, Pines, Iuniper, Sassafras, and other sweet wood; it is a harbour wherein 1000. saile of Ships may safely ride, there we relieued our selues with wood and water, and refreshed our people, while our shallop was fitted to coast the Bay, to search for an habitation: there was the greatest store of fowle that euer we saw.

And euery day we saw Whales playing hard by vs, of which in that place, if we had instruments & meanes to take them, we might haue made a very rich returne, which to our great grieffe we wanted. Our master and his mate, and others experienced in fishing, professed, we might haue made three or foure thousand pounds worth of Oyle; they preferred it before Greenland Whale-fishing, & purpose the next winter to fish for Whale here; for Cod we assayed, but found none, there is good store no doubt in their season. Neither got we any fish all the time we lay there, but some few little ones on the shore. We found great Mussels, and very fat and full of Sea pearle, but we could not eat them, for they made vs all sick that did eat, as well saylers as passengers; they caused to cast and scoure, but they were soone well againe. The bay is so round & circling, that before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the Compasse. We could not come neere the shore by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great preiudice to vs, for our people going on shore were forced to wade a bow shoot or two in going a-land, which caused many to get colds and coughs, for it was many times freezing cold weather.

This day before we came to harbour, obseruing some not well affected to vnitie and concord, but gaue some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together
in

in one body, and to submit to such government and governours, as we should by common consent agree to make and chose, and set our hands to this that followes word for word.

IN the name of God, Amen. We whose names are vnder-written, the loyall Subiects of our dread soveraigne Lord King JAMES, by the grace of God of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Having vnder-taken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and honour of our King and Countrey, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the Northerne parts of VIRGINIA, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in the presence of God and one of another, covenant, and combine our selves together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such iust and equall Lawes, Ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the generall good of the Colony: vnto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have here vnder subscribed our names. *Cape Cod 11. of November, in the yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord King JAMES, of England, France, and Ireland 18. and of Scotland 54. Anno Domini 1620.*

The same day so soone as we could we set a-shore 15. or 16. men, well armed, with some to fetch wood, for we had none left; as also to see what the Land was, and what Inhabitants they could meet with, they found it to be a small neck of Land; on this side where we lay is the Bay, and the further side the Sea; the ground or earth, sand hils, much like the Downes in Holland, but much better; the crust of the earth a Spits depth, excellent blacke earth; all wooded with Oks, Pines, Sassafras, Iuniper, Birch, Holly, Vines, some Ash, Walnut; the wood for the most part open and without vnderwood, fireither to goe or ride in: at night our people returned,

ned, but found not any person, nor habitation, and laded their Boat with Iuniper, which smelled very sweet & strong, and of which we burnt the most part of the time we lay there.

Munday the 13. of *November*, we vnshipped our Shallop and drew her on land, to mend and repaire her, having bin forced to cut her downe in bestowing her betwixt the decks, and she was much opened with the peoples lying in her, which kept vs long there, for it was 16. or 17. dayes before the Carpenter had finished her; our people went on shore to refresh themselves, and our women to wash, as they had great need; but whilest we lay thus still, hoping our Shallop would be ready in five or sixe dayes at the furthest, but our Carpenter made slow worke of it, so that some of our people impatient of delay, desired for our better furtherance to travaile by Land into the Countrey, which was not without appearance of danger, not having the Shallop with them, nor meanes to carry provision, but on their backes, to see whether it might be fit for vs to seate in or no, and the rather because as we sayled into the Harbour, there seemed to be a river opening it selfe into the maine land; the willingness of the persons was liked, but the thing it selfe, in regard of the danger was rather permitted then approved, and to with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteene men were set out with every man his Musket, Sword, and Corset, vnder the conduct of Captaine *Miles Stardish*, vnto whom was adioyned for counsell and advise, *William Bradford*, *Stephen Hopkins*, and *Edward Tilley*.

Wednesday the 15. of *November*, they were set a shore, and when they had ordered themselves in the order of a single File, and marched about the space of a myle, by the Sea they espyed five or sixe people, with a Dogge, comming towards them, who were Savages, who when they saw them ran into the Wood and whilled the Dogge after them, &c. First, they supposed them to be master *Jones*, the Master and some of his men, for they were a-shore, and knew of their comming, but after they knew them to be *Indians* they marched

ched after them into the Woods, least other of the *Indians* should lie in Ambush; but when the *Indians* saw our men following them, they ran away with might and mayne and our men turned out of the Wood after them, for it was the way they intended to goe, but they could not come neare them. They followed them that night about ten miles by the trace of their footings, and saw how they had come the same way they went, and at a turning perceived how they run vp an hill, to see whether they followed them. At length night came vpon them, and they were constrained to take vp their lodging, so they set forth three Sentinells, and the rest, some kindled a fire, and other stetched wood, and there held our Randevous that night. In the morning so soone as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our iourney, & had the tracke vntill we had compassed the head of a long creak, and there they tooke into another wood, and we after them, supposing to finde some of their dwellings, but we marched thorow boughes and bushes, and vnder hills and vallies, which tore our very Armour in peeces, and yet could meete with none of them, nor their houses, nor finde any fresh water, which we greatly desired, and stood in need off, for we brought neither Beere nor Water with vs, and our victuals was onely Bisket and Holland cheese, and a little Bottle of *aquavite*, so as we were sore a thirst. About ten a clocke we came into a deepe Valley, full of brush, wood-gaile, and long grasse, through which we found little paths or tracts, and there we saw a Deere, and found springs of fresh water, of which we were heartily glad, and sat vs downe and drunke our first *New-England* water with as much delight as ever we drunke drinke in all our liues. When we had refreshed our selues, we directed our course full South, that we might come to the shore, which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ship might see where wee were (as we had direction) and so marched on towards this supposed River; and as we went in another valley we found a fine cleere Pond of fresh water, being about a Musket shot broad, and twise as long; there grew also many small vines,

and Foule and Deere haunted there; there grew much Sassafras: from thence we went on & found much plaine ground, about fiftie Acres, fit for the Plow, and some signes where the *Indians* had formerly planted their corne; after this, some thought it best for neareness of the river to goe downe and trauaile on the Sea sands, by which meanes some of our men were tyred, and lagged behind, so we stayed and gathered them vp, and struck into the Land againe; where we found a little path to certaine heapes of sand, one whereof was covered with old Matts, and had a wooden thing like a mortar whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot layd in a little hole at the end thereof; we musing what it might be, digged & found a Bow, and, as we thought, Arrowes, but they were rotten; We supposed there were many other things, but because we deemed them graues, we put in the Bow againe and made it vp as it was, and left the rest vntouched, because we thought it would be odious vnto them to ransacke their Sepulchers. We went on further and found new stubble, of which they had gotten Corne this yeare, and many Wallnut trees full of Nuts, and great store of Strawberries, and some Vines; passing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had also bin new gotten, and there we found where an house had beene, and foure or five old Plankes layed together; also we found a great Kettle, which had beene some Ships kettle and brought out of *Europe*; there was also an heape of sand, made like the former, but it was newly done, we might see how they had padled it with their hands. which we digged vp, and in it we found a little old Basket full of faire *Indian* Corne, and digged further & found a fine great new Basket full of very faire corne of this yeare, with some 36. goodly eares of corne, some yellow, and some red, and others mixt with blew, which was a very goodly sight: the Basket was round, and narrow at the top, it held about three or foure Bushels, which was as much as two of vs could lift vp from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made; But whilst wee were busie about these things, we set our men Sentinell in a round ring, all but two
or

or three which digged vp the corne. We were in suspence, what to doe with it, and the Kettle, and at length after much consultation, we concluded to take the Kettle, and as much of the Corne as we could carry away with vs; and when our Shallop came, if we could find any of the people, and come to parley with them, we would giue them the Kettle againe, and satisfie them for their Corne, so wee tooke all the cares and put a good deale of the loose Corne in the Kettle for two men to bring away on a staffe; besides, they that could put any into their Pockets filled the same; the rest wee buried againe, for we were so laden with Armour that we could carry no more. Not farre from this place we found the remainder of an old Fort, or Palizado, which as we conceived had beene made by some Christians, this was also hard by that place which we thought had beene a river, vnto which wee went and found it so to be, deviding it selfe into two armes by an high banke, standing right by the cut or mouth which came from the Sea, that which was next vnto vs was the lesse, the other arme was more then twise as big, and not vnlike to be an harbour for ships; but whether it be a fresh river, or onely an indraught of the Sea, we had no time to discover, for wee had Commandement to be out but two dayes. Here also we saw two Canoas, the one on the one side, the other on the other side, wee could not belecue it was a Canoa, till we came neare it, so we returned leauing the further discovery hereof to our Shallop, and came that night backe againe to the fresh water pond, and there we made our Randevous that night, making a great fire, and a Baricado to windward of vs, and kept good watch with three Sentinells all night, every one standing when his turne came, while five or sixe inches of Match was burning. It proved a very rainie night. In the morning we tooke our Kettle and supke it in the pond, and trimmed our Muskets, for few of them would goe off because of the wet, and so coasted the wood againe to come home, in which we were shrewdly pus-led, and lost our way, as we wandred we came to a tree, where a yong Spritt was bowed downe over a bow, and some Acornes strewed vnder-

der neath; *Stephen Hopkins* sayd, it had beene to catch some Deere, so, as we were looking at it, *William Bradford* being in the *Reare*, when he came looked also vpon it, and as he went about, it gaue a sodaine jerk vp, and he was immediately caught by the leg; It was a very pretie devise, made with a Rope of their owne making, and having a noose as artificially made, as any Roper in *England* can make, and as like ours as can be, which we brought away with vs. In the end wee got out of the Wood, and were fallen about a myle too high about the creak, where we saw three Bucks, but we had rather haue had one of them. Wee also did spring three couple of Partridges; and as we came along by the creak, wee saw great flockes of wild Geese and Dackes, but they were very fearefull of vs. So we marched some while in the Woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water vp to the knees, till at length we came neare the Ship, and then we shot off our Peeeces, and the long Boat came to fetch vs; master *Jones*, and master *Carter* being on the shore, with many of our people, came to meete vs. And thus wee came both weary and well-come home, and deliuered in our Corne into the store, to be kept for seed, for wee knew not how to come by any, and therefore were very glad, purposing so soone as we could meete with any of the Inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction. This was our first Discovery, whilst our Shallop was in repairing; our people did make things as fitting as they could, and time would, in seeking out wood, and heluing of Tooles, and sawing of Tymber to build a new Shallop, but the discomodiousnes of the harbour did much hinder vs for we could neither goe to, nor come from the shore, but at high water, which was much to our hinderance and hurt, for often times they waded to the middle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, to goe and come from land; some did it necessarily, and some for their owne pleasure, but it brought to the most, if not to all, coughes and colds, the weather prouing sodainly cold and stormie, which afterward turned to the scurvey, whereof many dyed.

When

When our Shallop was fit indeed, before she was fully fitted, for there was two dayes worke after bestowed on her, there was appointed some 24 men of our owne, and armed, then to goe and make a more full discovery of the rivers before mentioned. Master Jones was desirous to goe with vs, and tooke such of his saylers as he thought vsfull for vs, so as we were in all about 34. men; wee made master Jones our Leader, for we thought it best herein to gratifie his kindnes and forwardnes. When we were set forth, it proued rough weather and crosse windes, so as we were constrained, some in the Shallop, and others in the long Boate, to row to the neereft shore the wind would suffer them to goe vnto, and then to wade out aboue the knees; the wind was so strong as the Shallop could not keepe the water, but was forced to harbour there that night, but we marched fixe or seaven miles further, and appointed the Shallop to come to vs as soone as they could. It blowed and did snow all that day & night, and froze withall; some of our people that are dead tooke the originall of their death here. The next day about 11. a clocke our Shallop came to vs, and wee shipped our selues, and the wind being good, we sayled to the river we formerly discovered, which we named, *Cold Harbour*, to which when wee came we found it not Navigable for Ships, yet we thought it might be a good harbour for Boats, for it flowes there 12. foote at high water. We landed our men betweene the two creekes, and marched some foure or fife myles by the greater of them, and the Shallop followed vs; at length night grew on, and our men were tired with marching vp and downe the steepe hills, and deepe vallies, which lay halfe a foot thicke with snow: Master Jones wearied with marching, was desirous we should take vp our lodging, though some of vs would haue marched further, so we made there our Randevous for that night, vnder a few Pine trees, and as it fell out, wee got three far Geese, and six Ducks to our Supper, which we ate with Souldiers stomacks, for we had eaten little all that day; our resolution was next morning to goe vp to the head of this river, for we supposed it would proue fresh water, but in

the morning our resolution held not, because many liked not the hillinesse of the soyle, and badnesse of the harbour, so we turned towards the other creeke, that wee might goe over and looke for the rest of the Corne that we left behind when we were here before; when we came to the creeke, we saw the Canow lie on the dry ground, and a flocke of Geese in the river, at which one made a shot, and killed a couple of them, and we lanced the Canow & fetcht them, and when we had done, she carryed vs over by seaven or eight at once. This done, we marched to the place where we had the corne formerly, which place we called *Corne-hill*; and digged and found the rest, of which we were very glad: we also digged in a place a little further off, and found a Bottle of oyle; wee went to another place, which we had scene before, and digged, and found more corne, viz. two or three Baskets full of *Indian Wheat*, and a bag of Beanes, with a good man of faire Wheat-eares; whilst some of vs were digging vp this, some others found another heape of Corne, which they digged vp also, so as we had in all about ten Bushels, which will serue vs sufficiently for seed. And sure it was Gods good providence that we found this Corne, for els wee know not how we should haue done, for we knew not how we should find, or meete with any of the *Indians*, except it be to doe vs a mischief. Also we had neuer in all likelihood scene a graine of it, if we had not made our first Iourny; for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frozen, that we were faine with our Curtlaxes and short Swords, to hew and carue the ground a foot deepe, and then wrest it vp with leavers, for we had forgot to bring other Toolles; whilst we were in this imployment, foule weather being towards, *Master Jones* was earnest to goe abourd, but sundry of vs desired to make further discovery, and to find out the *Indians* habitations, so we sent home with him our weakest people, and some that were sicke, and all the Corne, and 8. of vs stayed still, and lodged there that night, and desired that the Shallop might returne to vs next day, and bring vs some Mattocks and Spades with them.

Note.

The

The next morning we followed certaine beaten pathes and tracts of the *Indians* into the Woods, supposing they would haue led vs into some Towne, or houses; after wee had gone a while, we light vpon a very broad beaten path, well nigh two foote broad then we lighted all our Marches, and prepared our selues, concluding wee were neare their dwellings, but in the end we found it to be onely a path made to driue Deere in, when the *Indians* hunt, as wee supposed; when we had marched five or six myles into the Woods, and could find no signes of any people, we returned againe another way, and as we came into the plaine ground, wee found a place like a graue, but it was much bigger and longer then any we had yet scene. It was also covered with boords, so as we mused what it should be, and resolved to digge it vp, where we found, first a Matt, and vnder that a sayre Bow, and there another Matt, and vnder that a boord about three quarters long, finely carued and paynted, with three tynes, or broches on the top, like a Crowne; also betweene the Matts we found Boules, Trays, Dishes, and such like Trinkets; at length we came to a faire new Matt, and vnder that two Bundles, the one bigger, the other lesse, we opened the greater and found in it a great quantitie of fine and perfect red Powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the flesh vnconsumed; there was bound vp with it a knife, a pack-needle, and two or three old iron things. It was bound vp in a Saylers canvas Casacke, and a payre of cloth breeches; the red Powder was a kind of Embaulment, and yeelded a strong, but no offensive smell; It was as fine as any flower. We opened the lesse bundle likewise, and found of the same Powder in it, and the bones and head of a little childe, about the leggs, and other parts of it was bound strings, and bracelets of fine white Beads; there was also by it a little Bow, about three quarters long, and some other odd knackes; we brought sundry of the pretiest things away with vs, and covered the Corps vp againe. After this, we digged in sundry like places, but found no more Corne, nor any things els but

graues: There was varietie of opinions amongst vs about the embalmed person; some thought it was an *Indian* Lord and King: others sayd, the *Indians* haue all blacke hayre, and never any was seene with browne or yellow hayre; some thought, it was a Christian of some speciall note, which had dyed amongst them, and they thus buried him to honour him; others thought, they had killed him, and did it in triumph over him. Whilest we were thus ranging and searching, two of the Saylers, which were newly come on the shore, by chance espied two houses, which had beene lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They having their peeces, and hearing no body entred the houses, and tooke out some things, and durst not stay but came againe and told vs; so some seaven or eight of vs went with them, and found how we had gone within a flight shot of them before. The houses were made with long yong Sapling trees, bended and both ends stucke into the ground; they were made round, like vnto an Arbour, and covered downe to the ground with thicke and well wrought matts, and the doore was not over a yard high, made of a matt to open; the chimney was a wide open hole in the top, for which they had a matt to cover it close when they pleased; one might stand and goe vpright in them, in the midst of them were foure little trunches knockt into the ground, and small sticke laid over, on which they hung their Pots, and what they had to seeth; round about the fire they lay on matts, which are their beds. The houses were double matted, for as they were matted without, so were they within, with newe & fairer matts. In the houses we found wooden Boules, Traves & Dishes, Earthen Pots, Hand baskets made of Crab shells, wrought together; also an English Paile or Bucket, it wanted a bayle, but it had two Iron eares: there was also Baskets of sundry sorts, bigger and some lesser, finer and some coarser: some were curiously wrought with blacke and white in pretie workes, and sundry other of their household stuffe: we found also two or three Deeres heads, one whereof had bin newly killed, for it was still fresh; there was also a company of Deeres

Deeres feete, stuck vp in the houses, Haris hornes, and Eagles clawes, and sundry such like things there was: also two or three Baskets full of parched Acornes, peeces of fish, and a peece of a broyled Hering. We found also a little silke grasse, and a little Tobacco seed, with some other seeds which wee knew not; without was sundry bundles of Flags, and Sedge, Bull rushes, and other stufte to make mats; there was thrust into an hollow tree, two or three peeces of Venison, but we thought it fitter for the Dogs then for vs: some of the best things we tooke away with vs, and left the houses standing still as they were, so it growing towards night, and the tyde almost spent, we halted with our things downe to the Shallop, and got aboard that night, intending to haue brought some Beades, and other things to haue left in the houses, in signe of Peace, and that we meant to truck with them, but it was not done, by meanes of our hastie comming away from Cape Cod, but so soone as we can meete conveniently with them, we will giue them full satisfaction. Thus much of our second Discovery.

Having thus discovered this place, it was controversall amongst vs, what to doe touching our aboad and settling there; some thought it best for many reasons to abide there.

As first, that there was a convenient harbour for Boates, though not for Ships.

Secondly, Good Corne ground readie to our hands, as we saw by experience in the goodly corne it yeelded, which would againe agree with the ground, and be naturall seed for the same.

Thirdly, Cape Cod was like to be a place of good fishing, for we saw daily great Whales of the best kind for oyle and bone, come close aboard our Ship, and in sayre weather swim and play about vs; there was once one when the Sun shone warme, came and lay aboue water, as if she had beene dead, for a good while together, within halfe a Musket shot of the Ship, at which two were prepared to shoote, to see whether she would stir or no, he that gaue fire first, his Musket flew in peeces, both stocke and barrell, yet thanks be to

God, neither he nor any man els was hurt with it, though many were there about, but when the Whale saw her time she gaue a snuffe and away.

Fourthly, the place was likely to be healthfull, secure, and defensible.

But the last and especiall reason was, that now the heart of Winter and vnseasonable weather was come vpon vs, so that we could not goe vpon coasting and discovery, without danger of loosing men and Boat, vpon which would follow the overthrow of all, especially considering what variable windes and sodaine stormes doe there arise. Also cold and wet lodging had so raynted our people, for scarce any of vs were free from vehement coughs, as if they should continue long in that estate, it would indanger the liues of many, and breed diseases and infection amongst vs. Againe, we had yet some Beere, Butter, Flesh, and other such victuals left, which would quickly be all gone, and then we should haue nothing to comfort vs in the great labour and toyle we were like to vnder-goe at the first; It was also conceived, whilst we had competent victuals, that the Ship would stay with vs, but when that grew low, they would be gone, and let vs shift as we could.

Others againe, vrged greatly the going to *Angoum* or *Angoum*, a place twentie leagues off to the North-wards, which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for ships; better ground and better fishing. Secondly for any thing we knew, there might be hard by vs a farre better seate, and it should be a great hindrance to seate where wee should remove againe. Thirdly, The water was but in ponds, and it was thought there would be none in Summer, or very little. Fourthly, the water there must be fetched vp a steepe hill: but to omit many reasons and replies vsed heereabouts; It was in the ende concluded, to make some discovery within the Bay, but in no case so farre as *Angoum*: besides, *Robert Coppin* our Pilot, made relation of a great Navigable River and good harbour in the other head land of this Bay, almost right over against *Cape Cod*, being a right line,

line, not much above eight leagues distant, in which hee had beene once: and because that one of the wild men with whom they had some trucking, stole a harping Iron from them, they called it theeuish harbour. And beyond that place they were enioyned not to goe, whereupon, a Company was chosen to goe out vppon a third discovery: whilst some were employed in this discovery, it pleased God that Mistris *White* was brought a bed of a Sonne, which was called *Peregrine*.

The fift day, we through Gods mercy escaped a great danger by the foolishnes of a Boy, one of *Francis Billingtons* Sonnes, who in his Fathers absence, had got Gun-powder, and had shot of a peice ortwo, and made squibs, and there being a fowling peice charged in his fathers Cabbin, shot her off in the Cabbin, there being a little barrell of powder halfe full, scattered in and about the Cabbin, the fire being within foure foute of the bed betweene the Deckes, and many flints and Iron things about the Cabbin, and many people about the fire, and yet by Gods mercy no harme done.

Wednesday the sixt of December, it was resolved our discoverers should set forth, for the day before was too fowle weather, and so they did, though it was well ore the day ere all things could be readie: So ten of our men were appointed who were of themselves willing to vndertake it, to wit, Captaine *Standish*, Maister *Carver*, *William Bradford*, *Edward Winsloe*, *Iohn Tilley*, *Edward Tilley*, *Iohn Honland*, and three of London, *Richard Warren*, *Steven Hopkins* and *Edward Dorte*, and two of our Sea-men, *Iohn Alderton* and *Thomas English*, of the Ships Company there went two of the Masters Mates, Maister *Clarke* and Maister *Copin*, the Master Gunner, and three Saylers. The narration of which Discovery, followes, penned by one of the Company.

Wednesday the sixt of December wee let out, being very cold and hard weather, wee were a long while after we launched from the ship, before we could get cleare of a sandie poynt, which lay within lesse then a furlong of the same. In which time, two were very sicke, and *Edward Tilley* had like

to haue sounded with cold; the Gunner was also sicke ynto Death, (but hope of traking made him to goe) and so remained all that day, and the next night; at length we got cleare of the sandy poynt, and got vp our sayles, and within an houre or two we got vnder the weather shore, and then had smoother water and better sayling, but it was very cold, for the water frose on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of Iron: wee sayled fixe or seaven leagues by the shore, but saw neither river nor creeke, at length wee met with a tongue of Land, being flat off from the shore, with a sandy poynt, we bore vp to gaine the poynt, & found there a fayre income or rode, of a Bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length, but wee made right over to the land before vs, and left the discovery of this *Income* till the next day: as we drew neare to the shore, wee espied some ten or twelue *Indians*, very busie about a blacke thing, what it was we could not tell, till afterwards they saw vs, and ran to and fro, as if they had beene carrying some thing away, wee landed a league or two from them, and had much adoe to put a shore any where, it lay so full of flat sands, when we came to shore, we made vs a Baricado, and got fire wood, and set out our Sentinells, and betooke vs to our lodging, such as it was: we saw the smoke of the fire which the Savages made that night, about foure or five myles from vs, in the morning we devided our company, some eight in the Shallop, and the rest on the shore went to discover this place, but we found it onely to be a Bay, without either river or creeke comming into it, yet we deemed it to be as good an harbour as Cape Cod, for they that sounded it, found a ship might ride in five fathom water; wee on the land found it to be a leuill soyle, but none of the fruitfullest; wee saw two beekes of fresh water, which were the first running streames that we saw in the Country, but one might stride over them: we found also a great fish, called a *Grampus* dead on the sands, they in the Shallop found two of them also in the bottome of the bay, dead in like sort, they were cast vp at high water, and could not get off for the frost and ice; they were some
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fine or fixe paces long, and about two inches thicke of fat, and fleshed like a Swiffe, they would haue yelded a great deale of oyle, if there had beene time and meanes to haue taken it, so we finding nothing for our turne, both we and our Shallop returned. We then directed our course along the Sea-sands, to the place where we first saw the *Indians*, when we were there, we saw it was also a *Grampus* which they were cutting vp, they cut it into long rands or peeces, about an ell long, and two handfull broad, wee found here and there a peece scattered by the way, as it seemed, for halt: this place the most were minded we should call, the *Grampus Bay*, because we found so many of them there: wee followed the tract of the *Indians* bare feete a good way on the sands, at length we saw where they stricke into the Woods by the side of a Pond, as wee went to view the place, one sayd, hee thought hee saw an *Indian*-house among the trees, so went vp to see: and here we and the Shallop lost sight one of another till night, it being now about nine or ten a clocke, so we light on a path, but saw no house, and followed a great way into the woods, at length wee found where Corne had beene set, but not that yeare, anone we found a great burying place, one part whereof was inclosed with a large Palazado, like a Church-yard, with yong spires foure or fve yards long, set as close one by another as they could two or three foot in the ground, within it was full of Graues, some bigger, and some lesse, some were also paled about, & others had like an *Indian*-house made over them, but not matted: those Graues were more sumptuous then those at *Corne-hill*, yet we digged none of them vp, but onely viewed them, and went our way; without the Palazado were graues also, but not so costly: from this place we went and found more Corne ground, but not of this yeare. As we ranged we light on foure or fve *Indian*-houses, which had beene lately dwelt in, but they were vncouered, and had no matts about them, els they were like those we found at *Corne-hill*, but had not beene so lately dwelt in, there was nothing left but two or three peeces of old matts, a little sedge, also a little further we

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found

found two Baskets full of parched Acorns hid in the ground, which we supposed had beene Corne when we beganne to dig the same, we cast earth thereon againe & went our way. All this while we saw no people, wee went ranging vp and downe till the Sunne began to draw low, and then we hasted out of the woods, that we might come to our Shallop, which when we were out of the woods, we espied a great way off, and call'd them to come vnto vs, the which they did as loone as they could, for it was not yet high water, they were exceeding glad to see vs, (for they feared because they had not seene vs in so long a time) thinking we would haue kept by the shore side, so being both weary and faint, for we had eaten nothing all that day, we fell to make our Mandevous and get fire wood, which alwayes cost vs a great deale of labour, by that time we had done, & our Shallop come to vs, it was within night, and we fed vpon such victualls as we had, and betooke vs to our rest, after we had set out our watch. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry, and our Sentinell called, *Arme, Arme*. So we bestirred our selues and shot off a couple of Muskets, and noyse ceased; we concluded, that it was a company of Wolves or Foxes, for one told vs, hee had heard such a noyse in *New-found-land*. About five a clocke in the morning wee began to be stirring, and two or three which doubted whether their Peeeces would goe off or no made tryall of them, and shot them off, but thought nothing at all, after Prayer we prepared our selues for brek-fast, and for a journey, and it being now the twilight in the morning, it was thought meet to carry the things downe to the Shallop: some sayd, it was not best to carry the Armour downe, others sayd, they would be readier, two or three sayd, they would not carry theirs, till they went themselves, but mistrusting nothing at all: as it fell out, the water not being high enough, they layd the things downe vpon the shore, & came vp to brek-fast. Anone, all vpon a sudden, we heard a great & strange cry, which we knew to be the same voyces, though they varied their notes, one of our company being abroad came running in, and cryed, *They are men, Indians, Indians*, and

and withall, their arrowes came flying amongst vs, our men ran out with all speed to recover their armes, as by the good Providence of God they did. In the meane time, Captaine *Miles Standish*, having a snaphance ready, made a shot, and after him another, after they two had shot, other two of vs were ready, but he wist vs not, to shoot, till we could take ayme, for we knew now what need we should haue, & there were foure onely of vs, which had their armes there readie, and stood before the open side of our Baricado, which was first assaulted, they thought it best to defend it, least the enemy should take it and our stuffe, and so haue the more vantage against vs, our care was no lesse for the Shallop, but we hoped all the rest would defend it; we called vnto them to know how it was with them, and they answered, Well, Well every one, and be of good courage: wee heard three of their Peeeces goe off, and the rest called for a fire-brand to light their matches, one tooke a log out of the fire on his shoulder and went and carried it vnto them, which was thought did not a little discourage our enemies. The cry of our enemies was dreadfull, especially, when our men ran out to recover their Armes, their note was after this manner, *Woaah woaah* *the ha haah woaah*: our men were no sooner come to their Armes, but the enemy was ready to assault them.

There was a lustie man and no whit lesse valiant, who was thought to bee their Captaine, stood behind a tree within halfe a musket shot of vs, and there let his arrowes fly at vs; hee was seene to shoote three arrowes, which were all avoyded, for he at whom the first arrow was aymed, saw it, and stooped downe and it flew over him, the rest were avoyded also: he stood three shots of a Musket, at length one tooke as he sayd full ayme at him, after which he gaue an extraordinary cry and away they went all, wee followed them about a quarter of a mile, but wee left sixe to keepe our Shallop, for we were carefull of our businelle: then wee shouted all together two severall times, and shot off a couple of muskets and so returned: this wee did that they might see wee were not afraide of them nor discouraged. Thus it pleased

God to vanquish our Enemies and give vs deliverance, by their noyse we could not guess that they were lesse then thirty or forty, though some thought that they were many more yet in the darke of the morning, wee could not so well discern them among the trees, as they could see vs by our fire side, we tooke vp 18. of their arrowes which we have sent to *England* by *Master Ioves*, some whereof were headed with braile, others with Harts horne, & others with Eagles claws many more no doubt were shot, for these we found, were almost covered with leaves: yet by the especiall providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt vs, though many came close by vs, and on every side of vs, and some coates which hung vp in our Baricado, were shot through and through. So after wee had given God thanks for our deliverance, wee tooke our Shallop and went on our Journey, and called this place, *The first Encounter*, from hence we intended to have sayled to the aforesayd theeuish Harbour, if wee found no convenient Harbour by the way, having the wind good, we sayled all that day along the Coast about 15. leagues, but saw neither River nor Creeke to put into, after we had sayled an houre or two, it began to snow and rain, and to be bad weather; about the midst of the afternoon, the winde increased and the Seas began to be very rough, and the hinges of the rudder broke, so that we could steere no longer with it, but two men with much adoe were faine to serue with a couple of Oares, the Seas were growne so great, that we were much troubled and in great daunger, and night grew on: Anon *Master Coppin* bad vs be of good cheere he saw the Harbour, as we drew neare, the gale being stiffe, and we bearing great sayle to get in, split our Mast in 3. peices, and were like to have cast away our Shallop, yet by Gods mercy recovering our selues, wee had the floud with vs, and struck into the Harbour.

Now he that thought that had beene the place was deceived, it being a place where not any of vs had beene before, and comming into the Harbour, he that was our Pilot did beare vp North-ward, which if we had continued wee had beene

beene cast away, yet still the Lord kept vs, and we bare vp for an Iland before vs, and recovering of that Iland, being compassed about with many Rocks, and darke night growing vpon vs, it pleased the Divine providence, that we fell vpon a place of sandy ground, where our Shallop did ride safe and secure all that night, and comming vpon a strange Iland kept our watch all night in the raine vpon that Iland: and in the morning we marched about it, & found no Inhabitants at all, and here wee made our Randevous all that day being Saturday, 10. of December, on the Sabboth day we rested, and on Munday we sounded the Harbour, and found it a very good Harbour for our shipping, we marched also into the Land, and found divers corne fields, and little running brookes, a place very good for scituation, so we returned to our Ship againe with good newes to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts.

On the fifteenth day, we waighed Anchor, to goe to the place we had discovered, and comming within two leagues of the Land, we could not fetch the Harbour, but were faine to put roome againe towards *Cape Cod*, our course lying West, and the wind was at North west, but it pleased God that the next day being Saturday the 16. day, the winde came faire, and wee put to Sea againe, and came safely into a safe Harbour; and within halfe an houre the winde changed, so as if we had beene letted but a litle, we had gone backe to *Cape Cod*. This Harbour is a Bay greater then *Cape Cod*, compassed with a goodly Land, and in the Bay, 2. fine Ilands vninhabited, wherein are nothing but wood, Oakes, Pines, Wal-nut, Beech, Sasifras, Vines, and other trees which wee know not; This Bay is a most hopefull place, innumerable store of fowle, and excellent good, and cannot but bee of fish in their seasons: Skote, Cod, Turbot, and Herring, wee have tasted of, abundance of Muffles the greatest & best that ever we saw; Crabs, and Lobsters, in their time infinite, It is in fashion like a Cikle or Fish-hooke.

Munday the 13. day, we went a land, manned with the Maister of the Ship, and 3. or 4. of the Saylers, we marched

along the coast in the woods, some 7. or 8. mile, but saw not an *Indian* nor an *Indian* house, only we found where formerly, had beene some Inhabitants, and where they had planted their corne: we found not any Navigable River, but 4. or 5. small running brookes of very sweet fresh water, that all run into the Sea: The Land for the crust of the earth is a spits depth, excellent blacke mold and fat in some places, 2. or 3. great Oakes but not very thicke, Pines, Wal-nuts Beech Ash, Birch, Hasell, Holley, Asp, Salifras, in abundance, & Vines eury where, Cherry trees, Plum trees, and many other which we know not; many kinds of hearbes, we found heere in Winter, as Strawberry leaues innumerable, Sorrell, Yarrow, Caruell, Brook-lime, Liver-wort, Water-orelles, great store of Leekes, and Onyons, and an excellent strong kind of Flaxe, and Hempe; here is sand, gravell, and excellent clay no better in the Worlde, excellent for pots, and will wash like sope; and great store of stone, though somewhat soft, and the best water that ever we drunke, and the Brookes now begin to be full of fish; that night many being weary with marching, wee went abourd againe.

The next morning being Tuesday the 19. of December, wee went againe to discover further; some went on Land, and some in the Shallop, the Land we found as the former day we did, and we found a Creeke, and went vp three English myles, a very pleasant river at full Sea, a Barke of thirty tunne may goe vp, but at low water scarce our Shallop could passe: this place we had a great liking to plant in, but that it was so farre from our fishing our principall profit, and so incompassed with woods, that we should bee in much danger of the Salvages, and our number being so little, and so much ground to cleare, so as wee thought good to quit and cleare that place, till we were of more strength; some of vs having a good milnde for safety to plant in the greater Ile, wee crossed the Bay which there is five or fixe myles over, and found the Ile about a myle and a halfe, or two myles about, all wooded, and no fresh water but 2. or 3. pits, that we doubted of fresh water in Summer, and so full of wood,

as we could hardly cleare so much as to sene vs for Corne, besides wee iudged it colde for our Corne, and some part very rockie, yet diuers thought of it as a place defensible, and of great securitie.

That night we returned againe a ship board, with resolution the next morning to settle on some of those places, so in the morning, after we had called on God for direction, we came to this resolution, to goe presently ashore againe, and to take a better view of two places, which wee thought most fitting for vs, for we could not now take time for further search or consideration, our victuals being much spent, especially, our Beere, and it being now the 19. of *December*. After our landing and viewing of the places, so well as we could we came to a conclusion, by most voyces, to set on the maine Land, on the first place, on an high ground, where there is a great deale of Land cleared, and hath beene planted with Corne three or foure yeares agoe, and there is a very sweet brooke runnes vnder the hill side, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunke, and where we may harbour our Shallops and Boates exceeding well, and in this brooke much good fish in their seasons: on the further side of the river also much Corne ground cleared, in one field is a great hill, on which wee poynt to make a plat-forme, and plant our Ordinance, which will command all round about, from thence we may see into the *Bay*, and farre into the Sea, and we may see thence *Cape Cod*: our greatest labour will be fetching of our wood, which is halfe a quarter of an English myle, but there is enough so farre off; what people inhabite here we yet know not, for as yet we haue seene none, so there we made our Randevous, and a place for some of our people about twentie, resolving in the morning to come all ashore, and to build houses, but the next morning being Thursday the 21. of *December*, it was stormie and wet, that we could not goe ashore, and those that remained there all night could doe nothing, but were wet, not having dai-light enough to make them a sufficient court of gard, to keepe them dry. All that night it blew and rayned extreamely;
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it was so tempestuous, that the Shallop could not goe on land so soone as was meet, for they had no victuals on land. About 11. a Clocke the Shallop went off with much adoe with provision, but could not returne it blew so strong, and was such foule weather, that we were forced to let fall our Anchor, and ride with three Anchors an head.

Friday the 22. the storme still continued, that we could not get a-land, nor they come to vs aboard: this morning Good wife *Alderton* was delivered of a sonne, but dead borne.

Saturday the 23. so many of vs as could, went on shore, felled and carried tymber, to provide themselves stufte for building.

Sunday the 24. our people on shore heard a cry of some Savages (as they thought) which caused an Alarm, and to stand on their gard, expecting an assault, but all was quiet.

Munday the 25. day, we went on shore, some to fell tymber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry, so no man rested all that day, but towards night some as they were at worke, heard a noyle of some *Indians*, which caused vs all to goe to our Muskets, but we heard no further, so we came aboard againe, and left some twentie to keepe the court of gard; that night we had a sore storme of winde and rayne.

Munday the 25. being Christmasday, we began to drinke water aboard, but at night the Matter caused vs to haue some Beere, and so on boord we had diuerse times now and then some Beere, but on shore none at all.

Tuesday the 26. it was foule weather, that we could not goe ashore.

Wednesday the 27. we went to worke againe.

Thursday the 28. of *December*, so many as could went to worke on the hill, where we purposed to build our platforme for our Ordinance, and which doth command all the plaine, and the Bay, and from whence we may see farre into the sea, and might be easier impayled, having two rowes of houses and a faire streete. So in the afternoone we went to measure out the grounds, and first, we tooke notice how many Fami-

Families they were, willing all singlemen that had no wives to ioyne with some Familie, as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houses, which was done, and we reduced them to 19. Families; to greater Families we allotted larger plots, to every person halfe a pole in breadth, and three in length, and so Lots were cast where euery man should lie, which was done, and flaked out; we thought this proportion was large enough at the first, for houses and gardens, to impale them round, considering the weaknes of our people, many of them growing ill with coldes, for our former Discoveries in frost and stormes, and the wading at Cape Cod had brought much weakenes amongst vs, which increased so every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of their deaths.

Fryday and Saturday, we fitted our selues for our labour, but our people on shore were much troubled and discouraged with rayne and wett that day, being very stormie and cold; we saw great smokes of fire made by the *Indians* about six or seauen myles from vs as we coniectured.

Munday the first of *Ianuary*, we went beelines to worke, we were much hindered in lying so farre off from the Land, and faine to goe as the tyde serued, that we lost much time, for our Ship drew so much water, that she lay a myle and almost a halfe off, though a ship of seauentie or eighthe tun at high water may come to the shore.

Wednesday the third of *Ianuary*, some of our people being abroad, to get and gather thatch, they saw great fires of the *Indians*, and were at their Corne fields, yet saw none of the Savages, nor had scene any of them since wee came to this Bay.

Thursday the fourth of *Ianuary*, Captaine Miles Standish with foure or five more, went to see if they could meet with any of the Savages in that place where the fires were made, they went to some of their houses, but not lately inhabited, yet could they not meete with any; as they came home, they shot at an Eagle and killed her, which was excellent meat; It was hardly to be discerned from Mutton.

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Fryday

Fryday the fifth of *January*, one of the Saylers found alive vpon the shore an Hering, which the Master had to his supper, which put vs in hope of fish, but as yet we had got but one Cod; we wanted small hookes.

Saturday the sixt of *January*, Master *Marten* was very sicke, and to our iudgement, no hope of life, so Master *Carver* was sent for to come aboard to speake with him about his accounts, who came the next morning.

Sunday the eight day of *January*, was a very fayre day, and we went betimes to worke, master *Jones* sent the Shallop as he had formerly done, to see where fish could be got, they had a great storme at Sea, and were in some danger, at night they returned with three great Seales, and an excellent good Cod, which did assure vs that we should haue plentie of fish shortly.

This day, *Francis Billington*, having the weeke before scene from the top of a tree on an hie hill, a great sea as he thought, went with one of the Masters mates to see it, they went three myles, and then came to a great water, devided into two great Lakes, the bigger of them five or sixe myles in circuit, and in it an Ile of a Cable length square, the other three miles in compasse; in their estimation they are fine fresh water, full of fish, and foule; a brooke issues from it, it will be an excellent helpe for vs in time. They found seaven or eight *Indian* houses, but not lately inhabited, when they saw the houses they were in some feare, for they were but two persons and one peece.

Tuesday the 9. *January*, was a reasonable faire day, and wee went to labour that day in the building of our Towne, in two rowes of houses for more safety: we devided by lott the plot of ground whereon to build our Towne; After the proportion formerly allotted, wee agreed that every man should build his owne house, thinking by that course, men would make more hast then working in common: the common house, in which for the first, we made our Rendezvous, being neere finished wanted onely covering, it being about 20. foote square; some should make merten, and
some

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Thursday the eleventh, *William Bradford* being at worke, (for it was a faire day) was vehemently taken with a griefe and paine, and so shot to his huckle-bone: It was doubted that he would haue instantly dyed, he got colde in the former discoveries, especially the last, and felt some paine in his ankles by times, but he grew a little better towards night and in time through Gods mercie in the vse of meanes recovered.

Friday the 12. we went to worke, but about noone, it began to raine, that it forced vs to giue over worke.

This day, two of our people put vs in great sorrow and care, there was 4. sent to gather and cut thatch in the morning, and two of them, *Iohn Goodman* and *Peter Braine*, having cut thatch all the fore-noone, went to a further place, and willed the other two, to binde vp that which was cut and to follow them; so they did, being about a myle and an halfe from our Plantation: but when the two came after, they could not finde them, nor heare any thing of them at all, though they halloed and shouted as loud as they could, so they returned to the Company and told them of it: whereupon Master *Lewis* & three or foure more went to seeke them, but could heare nothing of them, so they returning, sent more, but that night they could heare nothing at all of them: the next day they armed 10. or 12. men out, verily thinking the *Indians* had surprised them, they went seeking 7. or 8. myles, but could neither see nor heare any thing at all, so they returned with much discomfort to vs all. These two that were missed, at dinner time tooke their meate in their hands, and would goe walke and refresh themselves, so going a litle off they finde a lake of water, and having a great Mastiffe bitch with them and a Spannell; by the water side they found a great Deere, the Dogs chased him, and they followed so farre as they lost themselves, and could not finde the way backe, they were dred

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some gather thatch, so that in foure dayes halfe of it was thatched, frost and foule weather hindered vs much, this time of the year seldom could we work half the work.

Thursday this eleventh, William Brewster being at worke, (for it was a faire day) was vehemently taken with a griet and paine, and so shut to his buckle home; it was doubted that he would have instantly dyed, he got golde in the former discoveries, especially the last, and lost some paine in his ankles by times, but he grew a little better now and night and in time through Gods mercie in the use of means recovered.

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all that after noone being wet, and at night it did freeze and snow; they were slenderly apparelled and had no weapons but each one his Cicle, nor any victuals; they ranged vp and downe and could finde none of the Salvages habitations; when it drew to night they were much perplexed, for they could finde neither harbour nor meate, but in frost and snow, were forced to make the earth their bed, and the Element their covering, and another thing did very much terrifie them, they heard as they thought two Lyons roaring exceedingly for a long time together, and a third, that they thought was very nere them, so not knowing what to do, they resolved to climbe vp into a tree as their safest refuge, though that would proue an intollerable colde lodging; so they stode at the trees roote, that when the Lyons came they might take their opportunite of climbing vp, the bitch they were faine to hold by the necke, for shee would haue beene gone to the Lyon; but it pleased God so to dispose, that the wilde Beastes came not: so they walked vp and downe vnder the Tree all night; it was an extreame colde night, so soone as it was light they trauailed againe, passing by many lakes and brookes and woods, and in one place where the Salvages had burnt the space of 3. myles in length, which is a fine Champion Countrey, andeuen. In the after-noone, it pleased God from an high Hill they discovered the two Iles in the Bay, and so that night got to the Plantation, being ready to faint with trauaile and want of victuals, and almost famished with colde, *John Goodman* was faine to haue his shooes cut off his feete they were so swelled with colde, and it was a long while after ere he was able to goe; those on the shore were much comforted at their returne, but they on ship-board were grieved as deeming them lost; but the next day being the 14. of Ianuary, in the morning about sixe of the clocke the winde being very great, they on ship-board spied their great new Rindevous on fire, which was to them a new discomfort, fearing because of the supposed losse of the men, that the Salvages had fiered them, neither could they presently goe to them for want of water, but af-

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ter 3. quarters of an houre they went, as they had purposed the day before, to keepe the Sabbath on shore, because now there was the greater number of people. At their landing they heard good tidings of the returne of the 2. men, and that the house was fiered occasionally by a sparke that flew into the thatch, which instantly burnt it all vp, but the rooffe stood and little hurt; the most losse was Maister Carver, and William Bradfords, who then lay sicke in bed, and if they had not risen with good speede, had beene blowne vp with powder: but through Gods mercy they had no harme, the house was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their Muskets charged, but blessed be God there was no harme done.

Munday the 15. day, it rayned much all day, that they on ship-boord could not goe on shore, nor they on shore doe any labour but were all wet.

Tuesday, wednesday, thursday, were very faire Sun-shinie dayes, as if it had beene in Aprill, and our people so many as were in health wrought chearefully.

The 19. day, we resolved to make a Shed, to put our common provilion in, of which some were already set on shore, but at noone it rayned, that we could not worke. This day in the evening, John Goodman went abroad to vse his lame feete, that were pittifully ill with the cold he had got, having a little Spaenell with him, a little way from the Plantation, two great Wolves ran after the Dog, the Dog ran to him and betwixt his leggs for succour, he had nothing in his hand but tooke vp a sticke, and threw at one of them and hit him, and they presently ran both away, but came againe, he got a paille bord in his hand, and they sat both on their tayles, grinning at him, a good while, and went their way, and left him.

Saturday 20. we made vp our Shed for our common goods.

Sunday the 21. we kept our meeting on Land.

Munday the 22. was a faire day, we wrought on our houses, and in the after-noon carried vp our hogsheds of meale to our common store-house.

The rest of the weeke we followed our businesse likewise.

Munday the 29. in the morning cold frost and fleete, but after reasonable fayre; both the long Boate and the Shallop brought our common goods on shore.

Tuesday and wednesday 30. and 31. of *January*, cold frosty weather and fleete, that we could not worke in the morning the Master and others saw two Savages, that had beene on the Island nere our Ship; what they came for wee could not tell, they were going so farre backe againe before they were descried, that we could not speake with them.

Sunday the 4. of *February*, was very wett and rainie, with the greatest gusts of winde that ever we had since wee came forth, that though we rid in a very good harbour, yet we were in danger, because our Ship was light, the goods taken out, and the vnballed; and it caused much daubing of our houses to fall downe.

Fryday the 9. still the cold weather continued, that wee could doe little worke. That after-noon our little house for our sicke people was set on fire by a sparke that kindled in the rooffe, but no great harme was done. That evening the master going ashore, killed five Geese, which he friendly distributed among the sicke people; he found also a good Deere killed, the Savages had cut off the hornes, and a Wolfe was eating of him, how he came there we could not conceive.

Friday the 16. day, was a faire day, but the northerly wind continued, which continued the frost, this day after-noon one of our people being a fouling, and having taken a stand by a creeke side in the Reeds, about a myle and an halfe from our Plantation, there came by him twelue *Indians*, marching towards our Plantation, & in the woods he heard the noyse of many more. he lay close till they were passed, and then with what speed he could he went home & gave the Alarm, so the people abroad in the woods returned & armed themselves, but saw none of them, onely toward the evening they made a great fire, about the place where they were first discovered: Capitaine *Miles Standish*, and *Francis Cooke*, being at worke in the Woods, coming home, left their
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toolcs behind them, but before they returned, their toolcs were taken away by the Savages. This comming of the Savages gave vs occasion to keepe more strict watch, and to make our peeces and furniture readie, which by the moylture and rayne were out of temper.

Saturday the 17 day, in the morning we called a meeting for the establisshing of military Orders amongst our selues, and we chose *Miles Standish* our Captaine, and gave him authoritie of command in affayres: and as we were in consultation hereabouts, two Savages presented themselves vpon the top of an hill, over against our Plantation, about a quarter of a myle and lesse, and made signes vnto vs to come vnto them; we likewise made signes vnto them to come to vs, whereupon we armed our selues, and stood readie, and sent two over the brooke towards them, to wit, Captaine *Standish* and *Steven Hopkins*, who went towards them, onely one of them had a Musket, which they layd downe on the ground in their sight, in signe of peace, and to parley with them, but the Savages would not tarry their comming: a noyse of a great many more was heard behind the hill, but no more came in sight. This caused vs to plant our great Ordinances in places most convenient.

Wednesday the 21. of *February*, the master came on shore with many of his Saylers, and brought with him one of the great Peeces, called a *Minion*, and helped vs to draw it vp the hill, with another Pece that lay on shore, and mounted them, and a saller and two bases; he brought with him a very fat Goose to eat with vs, and we had a fat Crane, and a Mallard, and a dry'd neats-tongue, and so wee were kindly and friendly together.

Saturday the third of *March*, the winde was South, the morning mistie, but towards noone warme and fayre weather; the Birds sang in the Woods most pleasantly; at one of the Clocke it thundred, which was the first wee heard in that Countrey, it was strong and great claps, but short, but after an houre it rayned very sadly till midnight.

Wednesday the seventh of *March*, the wind was full East, cold,

cold, but faire, that day Master *Carver* with five other wen t to the great Ponds, which seeme to be excellent fishing places; all the way they went they found it exceedingly beaten and haunted with Deere, but they saw none; amongst other foule, they saw one a milke white foule, with a very blacke head: this day some garden seeds were sown.

Fryday the 16. a fayre warme day towards; this morning we determined to conclude of the military Orders, which we had began to consider of before, but were interrupted by the Savages, as we mentioned formerly; and whilst we were bulied here about, we were interrupted againe, for there presented himscife a *Savage*, which caused an Alarm, he very boldly came all alone and along the houses straight to the Randevous, where we intercepted him, not suffering him to goe in, as vndoubtedly he would, out of his boldnesse, hee saluted vs in English, and bad vs well-come, for he had learned some broken English amongst the English men that came to fish at *Monchiggon*, and knew by name the most of the Captaines, Commanders, & Masters, that vsually come, he was a man free in speech, so farre as he could expresse his minde, and of a seemely carriage, we questioned him of many things, he was the first *Savage* we could meete withall; he sayd he was not of these parts, but of *Marattiggon*, and one of the *Sagamores* or *Lords* thereof, and had beene 8. monerhs in these parts, it lying hencee a dayes sayle with a great wind, and five dayes by land; he discoursed of the whole Country, and of every Province, and of their *Sagamores*, and their number of men, and strength; the wind beginning to rise a little, we cast a horsemans coat about him, for he was starke naked, onely a leather about his wast, with a fringe about a span long, or little more; he had a bow & 2 arrowes, the one headed, and the other vnheaded; he was a tall straight man, the haire of his head blacke, long behind, onely short before, none on his face at all; he asked some beere, but we gave him strong water, and bisket, and butter, and cheese, & pudding, and a peece of a mallerd, all which he liked well, and had bin acquainted with such amongst the English; he told vs the place

place where we now live, is called, *Panama*, and that about foure yeares agoe, all the inhabitants dyed of an extraordinary plague, and there neither man, woman, nor childe remaining, as indeed we have found none, so as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claime vnto it; all the afternoon we spent in communication with him, we would gladly have beene rid of him at night, but he was not willing to goe this night, then we thought to carry him on ship-board; wherewith he was well content, and went into the Shallop, but the winde was high and water scant, that it could not returne backe: we lodged him that night at *Steven Hopkins* house, and watched him; the next day he went away backe to the *Massachus*, from whence he sayd he came, who are our next bordering neighbours: they are sixtie strong, as he sayth; the *Naushet* are as neere South-east of them, and are a hundred strong, and those were they of whom our people were encountered, as we before related. They are much incensed and provoked against the English, and about eyght moneths agoe slew three English men, and two more hardly escaped by flight to *Monhiggon*; they were *Sir Ferdinando* *George* his men, as this Savage told vs, as he did likewise of the *Hugger*, that is, *Fight*, that our discoverers had with the *Naushet*, & of our tooles that were taken out of the woods, which we willed him should be brought againe, otherwise, we would fight our selues. These people are ill affected towards the English, by reason of one *Haut*, a master of a ship, who deceived the people, and got them vnder colour of trucking with them, twentie out of this very place where we inhabit, and seaven men from the *Naushet*, and carried them away, and sold them for slaves, like a wretched man (for 20. pound a man) that cares not what mischief he doth for his profit.

Saturday in the morning we dismissed the Salvage, and gaue him a knife, a bracelet, and a ring; he promised within a night or two to come againe, and to bring with him some of the *Massachus* our neighbours, with such *Beuers* skins as they had to trucke with vs.

Saturday and Sunday reasonable fayre dayes. On this day came againe the Savage, and brought with him five other tall proper men, they had every man a Deeres skin on him, and the principall of them had a wild Cats skin, or such like on the one arme; they had most of them long hoses vp to their groynes, close made; and about their groynes to their wast another leather, they were altogether like the Irish-trousers, they are of complexion like our English Gipsies, no haire or very little on their faces, on their heads long haire to their shoulders, onely cut before, some trilled vp before with a feather, broad wise, like a fanne, another a fox taylor hanging out: these left (according to our charge given him before) their Bowes and Arrows a quarter of a myle from our Towne, we gave them entertaynement as we thought was fitting them, they did eate liberally of our English victuals, they made semblance vnto vs of friendship and amitie; they song & danced after their maner like Anticks; they brought with them in a thing like a Bow-case (which the principall of them had about his wast) a little of their Corne powdered to Powder, which put to a little water they eate; he had a little Tobacco in a bag, but none of them drunke but when he listed, some of them had their faces paynted blacke, from the forehead to the chin, foure or five fingers broad; others after other fashions, as they liked; they brought three or foure skins, but we would not trucke with them at all that day, but wished them to bring more, and we would trucke for all, which they promised within a night or two, and would leave these behind them, though we were not willing they should, and they brought vs all our tooles againe which were taken in the Woods, in our mens absenece, so because of the day we dismissed them so soone as we could. But *Samoset* our first acquaintance, cyther was sicke, or sayned himselfe so, and would not goe with them, and stayed with vs till Wednesday morning: Then we sent him to them, to know the reason they came not according to their words, and we gaue him an hat, a payre of stockings and shooes, a shirt, and a peece of cloth to tie about his wast.

The

The Sabbath day, when we lent them from vs, wee gave every one of them some trinkets, especially, the principall of them, we carried them along with our Armes to the place where they lent their Bowes and Arrowes, whereat they were amazed, and two of them began to flinke away, but that the other called them, when they took their Arrowes, we bid them farewell, and they were glad, and so with many thanks, glad vs they departed, with promise they would come againe.

Munday and Tuesday proved fayre dayes, we digged our grounds, and sowed our garden-seeds.

Wednesday a fine warme day, we sent away *Samses*.

That day we had againe a meeting, to conclude of lawes and orders for our selves, and to confirme those Military Orders that were formerly propounded, and twice broken off by the Savages comming, but so we were againe the third time, for after we had beene an houre together, on the top of the hill over against vs two or three Savages presented themselves, that made semblance of daring vs, as we thought, so Captaine *Standish* with another, with their Muskets went over to them, with two of the mellers mates that followe them without Armes, having two Muskets with them, they whetted and rubbed their Arrowes and Strings, and made shew of defiance, but when our men drew nere them, they ranne away. Thus we were againe interrupted by them, this day with much adoe we got our Carpenter that had beene long sicke of the scurvy, to fit our Shallop, to fetch all from aboard.

Thursday the 22. of *March*, was a very fayre warme day. About noone we met againe about our publique businelle, but we had scarce beene an houre together, but *Samses* came againe, and *Squanto*. the onely native of *Panuxet*, where we now inhabite, who was one of the twentie Captives that by *Huns* were carried away, and had beene in *England*. & dwelt in *Cornehill* with master *John Slanie* a Marchant, and could speake a little English, with three others, and they brought with them some few skinnies to trucke, and some red Her-

rings newly taken and dryed, but not salted, and signified vnto vs, that their great Sagamore *Masasoit* was hard by, with *Quadequina* his brother, and all their men. They could not well expresse in English what they would, but after an houre the King came to the top of an hill over against vs, and had in his traine sixtie men, that wee could well behold them, and they vs; we were not willing to send our gouernour to them, and they vnwilling to come to vs, so *Squanto* went againe vnto him, who brought word that wee should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was *Edward Winslow*, to know his mind, and to signifie the mind and will of our gouernour, which was to haue trading and peace with him. We sent to the King a payre of Knives, and a Copper Chayne, with a Jewell at it. To *Quadequina* we sent likewise a Knife and a Jewell to hang in his care, and withall a Pot of strong water, a good quantitie of Bisket, and some butter, which were all willingly accepted: our Messenger made a speech vnto him, that King JAMES saluted him with words of loue and Peace, and did accept of him as his Friend and Alie, and that our Gouernour desired to see him and to trucke with him, and to confirme a Peace with him, as his next neighbour: he liked well of the speech and heard it attentively, though the Interpreters did not well expresse it; after he had eaten and drunke himselfe, and given the rest to his company, he looked vpon our messengers sword and armour which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it, but on the other side, our messenger shewed his vnwillingnes to part with it: In the end he left him in the custodie of *Quadequina* his brother, and came over the brooke, and some twentie men following him, leaving all their Bowes and Arrows behind them. We kept six or seauen as hostages for our messenger; Captaine *Standish* and master *Williamson* met the King at the brooke, with halfe a dosen Muskietiers, they saluted him and he them, so one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to an house then in building, where we placed a greene Rugge, and three or foure Cushions, then instantly came our Gover-

GUNABEY
Governour with Drumme and Trumpet after him, and
some few Musketeers. After salutations, our Governour
killing his hand, the King killed him, and so they sat downe.
The Governour called for some strong water, and drunke
to him, and he drunke a great draught that made him sweate
all the while after, he called for a little fresh meate, which the
King did eate willingly, and did give his followers. Then
they treated of Peace, which was

1. That neyther he nor any of his should inuade or doe hurt
to any of our people.

2. And if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should send
the offender, that we might punish him.

3. That if any of our Indians were taken away when our
people were at worke, he should call them to be restored,
and if ours did any harme to any of his, wee would doe the
like to them.

4. If any did vniually warre against him, we would ayde
him; If any did warre against vs, he should ayde vs.

5. He should lead to his neighbour Confederates to cer-
tifie them of this, that they might not wrong vs, but might
be likewise comprised in the conditions of Peace.

6. That when their men came to vs, they should leaue
their Bowes and Arrowes behind them, as wee should doe
our Peecces when we came to them.

Lastly, that doing thus, King JAMES would esteeme of
him as his friend and Alie: all which the King seemed to
like well, and it was applauded of his followers, all the while
he sat by the Governour he trembled for feare: In his per-
son he is a very lustie man, in his best yeares, an able body,
grauie of countenance, and spare of speech: In his Attire
little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, on-
ly in a great Chaîne of white bone Beades about his necke,
and at it behinde his necke, hangs a little bagg of Tobacco,
which he dranke and gaue vs to drinke: his face was payn-
ted with a sad red like murry, and oyled both head and face,
that hee looked greasily: All his followers likewise, were in
their faces, in part or in whole painted, some blacke, some
red,

The agree-
ments of peace
betwene vs
and Massasoyt.

red, some yellow, and some white, some with crosse, and other Antick workes, some had skins on them, and some naked, all strong, tall, all men in appearance: so after all was done, the Governor conducted him to the Brooke, and there they embraced each other and he departed: we diligently keeping our hostages, wee expected our messengers coming, but anon word was brought vs, that *Quadiqua* was coming, and our messenger was stayed till his returne, who presently came and a troupe with him, so likewise wee entertained him, and conveyed him to the place prepared; he was very fearefull of our peeces, and made signes of dislike, that they should be carried away, whereupon Commandement was given, they should be layd away. He was a very proper tall young man, of a very modest and seemely countenance, and he did kindly like of our entertainment, so we conveyed him likewise as wee did the King, but diuers of their people stayed till, when hee was returned, then they dismissed our messenger. Two of his people would haue stayed all night, but we would not suffer it: one thing I forgot, the King had in his bosome hanging in a string, a great long knife, hee marvelled much at our Trumpet, and some of his men would sound it as well as they could, *Sama* and *Squanto*, they stayed all night with vs, and the King and all his men lay all night in the woods, not about halfe an English myle from vs, and all their wiues and women with them, they sayd that within 8. or 9. dayes, they would come and set corne on the other side of the Brooke, and dwell there all Summer, which is hard by vs: That night we kept good watch, but there was no appearance of danger; the next morning diuers of their people came over to vs, hoping to get some victuals as wee imagined, som of them told vs the King would haue some of vs come see him; *Captaine Scaddis* and *Snack Alderton* went venterously, who were welcommed of him after their manner: he gaue them three or foure ground Nuts, and some Tobacco. Wee cannot yet conceiue, but that he is willing to haue peace with vs, for they haue seene our people sometimes alone two or three in

the woods at worke and fowling, when as they offered them
no harme as they might easily have done, and especially
because hee had a peccor ~~that~~ ^{that} are at warre with him, against whom hee thinkes wee
may be some strength to him, for our pecces are terrible vn-
to them, this morning, they stayed till ~~the~~ ^{the} Clocke, and our Governour bid them send the Kings kedge,
and filled it full of pease, which pleased them well, and so
they went their way.

Fryday was a very faire day, *Samoset* and *Squanto* still re-
mained with vs, *Squanto* went at noone to fish for Eeles, at
night he came home with as many as he could well lift in one
hand, which our people were glad of, they were fat & sweet,
he trod them out with his feete, and so caught them with his
hands without any other Instrument.

This day we proceeded on with our common busshelle,
from which we had beene so often hindered by the Salvages
comming, and concluded both of Military Orders,
and of some Lawer and Orders as wee thought be-
hoofefull for our present estate, and condition,
and did likewise choose our Governour for
this year, which was Master *John*
Cover a man well approo-
ved amongst vs.

IOVRNEY TO PACKANOKIK
The Habitation of the Great King
M A S S A S O R T.

As also our Message, the

Answer and Intertaince



I seemed good to the Company for many considerations to send some amongst them to *Messagor*, the greatest Commander amongst the Savages, bordering about vs; partly to know where to find them, if occasion served, as also to see their strength, discover the Country, prevent abuses in their disorderly comming vnto vs, make satisfaction for some conceived injuries to be done on our parts, and to continue the league of Peace and Friendship betweene them and vs. For these, and the like ends, it pleased the Governour to make choice of *Steven Hopkins*, & *Edward Winslow* to goe vnto him, and having a fit opportunitie, by reason of a Savage, called *Tisquantum* (that could speake English) comming vnto vs; with all expedition provided a Horse-mans coat, of red Cotton, and laced with a flighe lace for a present, that both they and their message might be the more acceptable amongst them. The Message was as followeth; That forasmuch as his subiects came often and without feare, vpon all occasions amongst vs, so wee were now come vnto him, and in witnesse of the love and good will the English beare vnto him, the Governour hath sent him a coat, desiring that the Peace and Amitie that was be-

Inhabitants flocked forth upon every slight occasion amongst vs: but we found it to bee some threene English myles. On the way we found some ten or twelve men women and children, which had pestered vs, till wee were wearie of them, perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victuall is easiest to be got, there they live, especially in the Summer; by reason whereof our Bay affording many Lobsters, they resort every spring tide thither: & now returned with vs to *Namasket*. Thither we came about 3. a clock after noone, the Inhabitants entertaining vs with ioy, in the best manner they could, giving vs a kinde of bread called by them *Maizim*, and the pawne of Shade, which then they got in abundance, in so much as they gave vs spoones to eat them, with these they boyled muske Acorns, but of the Shade we ate heartily. After this they desired one of our men to shote at a Crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their Corne by them, who shooting some fourescore off and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions. After this *Tigwastum* told vs we should hardly in one day reach *Pawwuck*, moving vs to goe some 8. myles further, where we should finde more store and better victuall then there: Being willing to hasten our Journey we went, and came thither at Sunne setting, where we found many of the *Namasket* (they so calling the men of *Namasket*) fishing vpon a *Wata* which they had made on a River, which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of Basse. These welcommed vs also, gave vs of their fish, and we them of our victuall, not doubting but we should haue enough where we came. There we lodged in the open fieldes, for houses they had none, though they spent the most of the Summer there. The head of this River is reported to be not farre from the place of our abode, vpon it are, and haue bene many Townes, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleared: The Indians of men haue lived there, which dyed in a great plague not long since, and many more, and is to see, so many goodly fields as so well sowed without

our men to dwell and to make the same a goodly town. The River
dweller *Amoy* is a very goodly town, where the French have a ship
may goe many myles up it, as the Salvages report, and a shal-
lop to the head of it, but so fast as was said, was as if a
shallop may.

But to returne to our Iourney. The next morning we
brake our fast,ooke our leave and departed, being then ac-
companied with some five Salvages, having gone about six
myles by the River side, at a knowne shole place, it being
low water, they spake to vs to put off our breeches, for we
must wade thorow. Heere let me not forget the valour and
courage of some of the Salvages, on the opposite side of the
river, for there were remaining alive only a men, both aged,
especially the one being about threescore. These two spy-
ing a company of men entring the River, ran very swiftly &
low in the graffe to meete vs at the bank, where with their
voyces and great courage standing charged upon vs with
their bowes, they demanded what we were, supposing vs
to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage on vs in the
water: but seeing we were friends, they welcommed vs with
such fooode as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of
Beades on them. Thus fare we are like the Tide and
flowes.

Having here againe refreshed our selves we proceeded in
our Iourney, the weather being very good for travel, yet the
Country so well watered that a man could scarce be drie, but
he should have a spring at hand to coole his thirst, beside small
Rivers in abundance. But the Salvages will not willingly
drinke, but at a spring head. When wee came to any small
Brooke where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry
vs through of their owne accords, also fearing we were or
would be weary, offered to carry our porters, also if we would
lay off any of our clothes, we should have them carried: and
as the one of them had found more speciall kindnesse from
one of the Mellengers, and the other Salvage from the other
so they shewed their thankfulness accordingly in affor-

ding small help, and for barter in the journey.
As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the River, but had been inhabited, by reason whereof, much ground was cleare, free of weedes which grew higher then our heads. There is much good Timber both Oake, Walnut-tree, Firre, Beech, and exceeding great Chestnut-trees. The Country in respect of the lying of it, is both Champanic and hilly, like many places in England. In some places is very rockie both above ground and in it: And though the Countrey bee wilde and over-grown with wood, yet the trees stand not thicke, but a man may well ride a horse amongst them.

Passing on at length, one of the Company an *Indian* espi-
ed a man, and told the rest of it, we asked them if they feared any, they told us that if they were *Narraganset* men they would not trust them, whereat, we called for our peeces and bid them not to feare, for though they were twenty, we two alone would not care for them: but they haying him, hee proved a friend, and had onely two women with him, their baskets were empty, but they fetched water in their bottles, so that we drank with them and departed. After we met another man with other two women, which had beene at Randevow by the salt water, and their baskets were full of roasted Crab fishes, and other dryed shell fish, of which they gave vs, and wee ate and dranke with them: and gave each of the women a string of Beades, and departed.

After wee came to a Towne of *Massasoyt*, where we eat Oysters and other fish. From thence we went to *Packanokick*, but *Massasoyt* was not at home, there we stayed, he being sent for: when newes was brought of his coming, our guide *Tisquantum* requested that at our meeting, wee would discharge our peeces, but one of vs going about to charge his peece, the women and children through feare, to see him take vpp his peece, ran away, and could not be pacified, till hee layd it downe againe, who afterward were better informed by our Interpreter.

Massasoyt being come, wee discharged our Peeces, and saluted

saluted him, who after their manner kindly well commended vs. and tooke vs into his house, and set vs down by him, where having delivered our foresayd Meilage, and Presents, and having put the Coat on his backe, and the Chayne about his necke, he was not a little proud to behold himselfe, and his men also to see their King so bravelly attyred.

For answer to our Meilage, he told vs we were well come, and he would gladly continue that Peace and Friendship which was betwene him & vs: and for his men they should no more pester vs as they had done: Also, that he would send to *Pasquet*, and would helpe vs with Corne for seed, according to our request.

This being done, his men gathered neere to him, to whom he turned himselfe, and made a great Speech, they sometime interposing, and as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he sayd. The meaning whereof was (as farre as we could learne) thus, Was not he *Masseys* Commander of the Countrey about them? Was not such a Towne his and the people of it? and should they not bring their skins vnto vs? To which they answered, they were his & would be at peace with vs, and bring their skins to vs. After this manner, he named at least thurty places, and their answers was as aforesayd to every one: so that as it was delightfull, it was tedious vnto vs.

This being ended, he lighted Tobacco for vs, and fell to discourling of *England*, & of the Kings Maiestie, marvayling that he would liue without a wife. Also he talked of the French-men, bidding vs not to suffer them to come to *Narroganset*, for it was King *IAMES*' his Countrey, and he also was King *IAMES*' his man. Late it grew, but victuals he offered none; for indeed he had not any, being he came so newly home. So we desired to goe to rest: he layd vs on the bed with himselfe and his wife, they at the one end and we at the other, it being onely plancks layd a foot from the ground, and a thin Mat vpon them. Two more of his chiefe men for want of roome pressed by and vpon vs; so that we were worse weary of our lodging then of our journey.

The next day being Thursday, many of their Sachims, or petty Governours came to see vs, and many of their men also. There they went to their manner of Games for skins and knives. There we challenged them to shoote with them for skins: but they durst not: onely they desired to see one of vs shoote at a marke, who shooting with Haile-shot, they wondred to see the marke so full of holes. About one a clocke, *Massasoit* brought two fishes that he had shot, they were like Breame but threetimes so bigge, and better meate. These being boyled there were at lest fortie looked for share in them, the most ate of them: This meale onely we had in two nights and a day, and had not one of vs bought a Partridge, we had taken our Iourney fasting: Very importunate he was to haue vs stay with them longer: But wee desired to keepe the Sabboth at home: and feared we should either be light-headed for want of sleepe, for what with bad lodging, the Savages barbarous singing, (for they vse to sing themselves asleepe) lice and fleas within doores, and Muskeetoes without, wee could hardly sleepe all the time of our being there; we much fearing, that if wee should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength. So that on the Fryday morning before Sun-rising, we tooke our leave and departed, *Massasoit* being both grieved and ashamed, that he could no better entertaine vs: and retaining *Tisquantum* to send from place to place to procure trucke for vs: and appointing another called *Tokamahamon* in his place, whom we had found faithfull before and after vpon all occasions.

At this towne of *Massasoits*, where we before ate, wee were againe refreshed with a litile fish; and bought about a handfull of Meale of their parched Corne, which was very precious at that time of the yeere, and a small string of dried shell-fish, as big as Oysters. The latter we gaue to the lixe Savages that accompanied vs, keeping the Meale for our selues, when we dranke we ate each a spoonefull of it with a Pipe of Tobacco, in stead of other victuals; and of this also we could not but giue them so long as it lasted, Fiue myles they

they led us to a house out of the way in hope of victuals, but we found no body there, and so starved but were able to returne home. That night we reached to the wire where we lay before, but the *Namasket* were returned: so that we had no hope of any thing there. One of the Savages had shot a Shad in the water, and a small Squirrell as big as a Rat, called a *Neuxis*, the one halfe of either he gave vs, and after went to the wire to fish. From hence we wrote to *Plimouth*, and sent *Tokamahamon* before to *Namasket*, willing him from thence to send another, that he might meet vs with food at *Namasket*. Two men now onely remained with vs, and it pleased God to give them good store of fish, so that we were well refreshed. After supper we went to rest, and they to fishing againe: more they gat and sell to eating a fresh, and retayned sufficient readie roast for all our break-fasts. About two a Clocke in the morning, arose a great storme of wind, raine, lightning, and thunder, in such violent manner, that we could not keepe in our fire; and had the Savages not rested fish when we were asleepe, we had set forward fasting: for the raine still continued with great violence, even the whole day thorow, till wee came within two myles of home.

Being wet and weary, at length we came to *Namasket*, there we refreshed our selves, giving gifts to all such as had shewed vs any kindnesse. Amongst others one of the sixe that came with vs from *Parkasket*, having before this on the way vnkindly forsaken vs, marvayled we gave him nothing, and told vs what he had done for vs; we also told him of some discourtesies he offered vs, whereby he deserved nothing, yet we gave him a small trifle: whereupon he offered vs Tobacco: but the house being full of people, we told them hee stole some by the way, and if it were of that we would not take it: For we would not receive that which was stolne upon any termes; if we did, our God would be angry with vs, and destroy vs. This abashed him, and gave the rest great content: but at our departure he would needs carry him on his backe thorow a River, whom he had formerly in some sort:

left abused. Faint they would have had us to lodge that
 all night; and wondered we would far forth again in
 such Weather: but God be prayed, we
 came safe home that night, though
 wet, weary, and
 sobered.

VOYAGE MADE BY TEN

of our Men to the Kingdome of

NAVET, to seeke a Boy that had

lost himselfe in the Woods;

With such Accidents as

befell vs in that

VOYAGE.



He 11th of *Iune* we set forth, the weather being very faire: but ere we had bin long at Sea, there arose a storme of wind and raine, with much lightning and thunder, in so much that a spout arose not far from vs: but God be prayesd, it dured not long, and we put in that night for Harbour at a place, called *Cummaquid*, where wee had some hope to finde the Boy. Two Savages were in the Boat with vs, the one was *Tisquantum* our Interpreter, the other *Tokamahamon*, a speciall friend. It being night before we came in, we Anchored in the middest of the Bay, where we were drie at a low water. In the morning we espied Savages seeking Lobsters, and sent our two Interpreters to speake with them, the channell being betweene them; where they told them what we were, and for what we were come, willing them not at all to feare vs, for we would not hurt them. Their answer was, that the Boy was well, but he was at *Nauset*; yet since wee were there they desired vs to come ashore & eate with them: which as soone as our Boat floated we did: and went sixe ashore, having foure pledges for them in the Boate. They brought vs to their Sachim or Gouvernour, whom they call

I

Iyanough,

Iyanough, a man not exceeding twentie-six yeeres of age, but very personable, gentle, courteous, and layre conditioned, indeed not like a Savage, save for his attyre; his entertainment was answerable to his parts, and his cheare plentifull and various.

One thing was very grievous vnto vs at this place; There was an old woman, whom we iudged to be no lesse then an hundred yeeres old, which came to see vs because shee neuer saw English, yet could not behold vs without breaking forth into great passion, weeping and crying exceedingly. We demanding the reason of it, they told vs, she had three sons, who when master *Hunt* was in these parts went aboard his Ship to trade with him; and he carried them Captiues into Spaine (for *Tisquantum* at that time was carried away also) by which meanes shee was deprived of the comfort of her children in her old age. We told them we were sorry that any English man should giue them that offence, that *Hunt* was a bad man, and that all the English that heard of it condemned him for the same: but for vs we would not offer them any such iniury, though it would gaine vs all the skins in the Countrey. So we gaue her some small trifles, which somewhat appeased her.

After dinner we tooke Boat for *Nauset*, *Iyanough* and two of his men accompanying vs. Ere we came to *Nauset*, the day and tyde were almost spent, in so much as we could not goe in with our Shallop: but the Sachim or Governour of *Commaquid* went a shore and his men with him, we also sent *Tisquantum* to tell *Aspinet* the Sachim of *Nauset* wherefore we came. The Sauages here came very thicke amongst vs, and were earnest with vs to bring in our Boate. But we neither well could, nor yet desired to doe it, because we had lest cause to trust them, being they onely had sonnerly made an Assault vpon vs in the same place, in time of our Winter Discouery for Habitation. And indeed it was no maruayle they did so, for howsoever through snow or otherwise wee saw no houses, yet wee were in the midst of them.

When

When our boat was a ground they came very thicke, but wee stood therein upon our guard, not suffering any to enter except two: the one being of *Cassano*, and one of those, whose Corne we had formerly found; we promised him restitution, & desired him either to come to *Panama* for satisfaction, or else we would bring them some more corne againe: hee promised to come, we rewarded him very kindly for the present. Some few skins we gave him but not many.

After Sun-set, *Aspinet* came with a great traine, & brought the boy with him, one bearing him through the water: hee had not lesse then an hundred with him, the halfe whereof came to the Shallop side vnto us, the other stood aloofe with their bow and arrowes. There he delivered vs the boy, behung with beades, and made peace with vs, wee bestowing a knife on him, and likewise on another that first entertained the Boy and brought him thither. So they departed from vs.

Here we vnderstood, that the *Narrohiganets* had spoyled some of *Massasoyes* men, and taken him. This stricke some feare in vs, because the Colony was so weakely guarded, the strength thereof being abroad: But we set forth with resolution to make the best hast home wee could; yet the winde being contrary, having scarce any fresh water left, and at least 16. leagues home, we put in againe for the shore. There we met againe with *Iyanough* the *Sachim* of *Cinnacud*, and the most of his Towne, both men women & children with him. Hee being still willing to gratifie vs, tooke a runlet and led our men in the darke a great way for water, but could finde none good: yet brought such as there was on his necke with them. In the meane time the women ioyned hand in hand, singing and dancing before the Shallop, the men also shewing all the kindness they could, *Iyanough* himselfe taking a bracelet from about his necke, and hanging it vpon one of vs.

Againe we set out but to small purpose: for wee gat but little homeward; Our water also was very brackish, and not to be drunke.

The next morning, *Iyowagh* espied vs againe and ran after vs, we being resolved to goe to *Cummaquid* againe to water, tooke him into the Shallop, whose entertainment was not inferiour vnto the former.

The soyle at *Nauset* and here is alike, even and sandy, not so good for corne as where wee are; Shippes may safely ride in either harbour. In the Summer, they abound with fish. Being now wintered, we put forth againe, and by

Gods providence, came safely home that night.

(*)

A

NEW-ENG
LAND

A
JOURNEY TO THE
Kingdome of NAMASCHET

in defence of the Great King

MASSASOYT against the Nar-

robiggansets, and to revenge

the supposed Death

of our Interpreter

Tisquantum.



Our returne from *Nauset*, we found it true, that *Massasoit* was put from his Countrey by the *Narrobiggansets*. Word also was brought vnto vs, that one *Combatant* a petty Sachim or Governour vnder *Massasoit* (whom they euer feared to be too conversant with the *Narrobiggansets*) was at *Namaschet*, who sought to draw the hearts of *Massasoits* subiects from him, speaking also disdainfully of vs, storming at the Peace betwene *Nauset*, *Cummaquid*, and vs, and at *Tisquantum* the worker of it; also at *Tokamahamon*, and one *Hobbamock* (two Indians or Lemes, one of which he would trecherously haue murdered a little before, being a speciall and trusty man of *Massasoits*) *Tokamahamon* went to him, but the other two would not; yet put their liues in their hands, priuately went to see if they could heare of their King, and lodging at *Namaschet* were discouered to *Combatant*, who set a guard to beset the house and tooke *Tisquantum* (for he had sayd, if he were dead, the English had lost their tongue) *Hobbamock* seeing that *Tisquantum* was taken, and *Combatant* held a knife at his breast, being a strong and stout man, brake from them and came to *New-Plimouth*, full of feare and sorrow for *Tisquantum*, whom he thought to be slaine.

Vpon this Newes the Company assembled together, and resolved on the morrow to send ten men armed to *Namafchet* and *Hobbamock*, for their guide, to revenge the supposed death of *Tisquantum* on *Combatant* our bitter Enemy, and to retaine *Napeos*, another Sachim or Gouverneur, who was of this confederacy, till we heard, what was become of our friend *Massaloge*.

On the morrow we set out ten men Armed, whoooke their iourney as aforelayd, but the day proved very wet. When wee supposed we were within three or foure myles of *Namafchet*, we went out of the way and layed there till night, because we would not be discovered. There we consulted what to doe, and thinking best to beset the house at mid-night, each was appointed his taske by the Captaine, all men encouraging one another, to the utmost of their power.

By night our guide lost his way, which much discouraged our men, being we were wet, and weary of our armes: but one of our men having beene before at *Namafchet* brought vs into the way againe.

Before we came to the Towne we sat downe and ate such as our Knapsacke afforded, that being done, wee threw them aside, and all such things as might hinder vs, and so went on and beset the house, according to our last resolution. Those that entred, demaunded if *Combatant* were not there: but feare had bereft the Savages of speech. We charged them not to stirre, for if *Combatant* were not there, we would not meddle with them, if he were, we came principally for him, to be auenged on him for the supposed death of *Tisquantum*, and other matters: but howsoever wee would not at all hurt their women, or children. Notwithstanding some of them pressed out at a priuate doore and escaped, but with some wounds: At length perceiving our principall ends, they told vs *Combatant* was returned with all his traine, and that *Tisquantum* was yet living, and in the towne offering some Tobacco, other such as they had to eat. In this hurley burley we discharged two Peeeces at randome, which much terrified

terrified all the Inhabitants, except *Tisquantum* and *Tokamahamon*, who though they knew not our end in coming, yet assured them of our honesty, that we would not hurt them. Those boyes that were in the house seeing our care of women, often cryed *Neesquas*, that is to say, I am a Woman: the Women also hanging vpon *Hobbamock*, calling him *Tomam*, that is, Friend. But to be short, we kept them we had, and made them make a fire that we might see to search the house. In the meane time, *Hobbamock* gat on the top of the house, and called *Tisquantum* and *Tokamahamon*, which came vnto vs accompanied with others, some armed and others naked. Those that had Bowes and Arrowes we tooke them away, promising them againe when it was day. The house we tooke for our better safegard, we released those we had taken, manifesting whom we sought for and wherefore.

On the next morning we marched into the middest of the Towne, and went to the house of *Tisquantum* to breakfast. Thither came all whose hearts were vpright towardes vs, but all *Combatants* faction were fled away. There in the middest of them we manifested againe our intendment, assuring them, that although *Combatant* had now escaped vs, yet there was no place should secure him and his from vs, if he continued his threatning vs, and prouoking others against vs, who had kindly entertained him, and neuer intended euill towards him till he now so iustly deserued it. Moreover, if *Massasoys* did not returne in safetie from *Narrobigganset*, or if hereafter he should make any insurrection against him, or offer violence to *Tisquantum*, *Hobbamock*, or any of *Massasoys* Subiects, we would revenge it vpon him, to the ouer-throw of him and his. As for those were wounded, we were sorry for it, though themselves procured it in not staying in the house at our command: yet if they would returne home with vs, our Surgeon should heale them.

At this offer, one man and a woman that were wounded went home with vs, *Tisquantum* and many other knowne friends.

friends accompanying vs, and offering all helpe that might be by carriage of any thing wee had to ease vs. So that by Gods good Providence wee safely returned home the morrow night after we set forth.

RELATION OF OUR
Voyage to the MASSACHUSETTS,

and what happened there.



I seemed good to the Company in general, that though the *Massachusetts* had often threatened vs (as we were informed) yet we should goe amongst them, partly to see the Countrey, partly to make Peace with them, and partly to procure their trade.

For these ends the Governours chose ten men, fit for the purpose, and sent *Tigemoon*, and two other Salvages to bring vs to speech with the people, and interpreter for vs.

We set out about midnight, the tyde then serving for vs: we supposing it to be neerer then it is, thought to be there the next morning betimes: but it proved well neere twentie leagues from *New Plimouth*.

We came into the bottom of the Bay, but being late were anchored and lay in the Shallop, not having seen any of the people. The next morning we put in for the shore. There we found many Lobsters that had bene gathered together by the Salvages, which we made ready vnder a cliffe. The Capitaine sent two Sentinels behind the cliffe to the landward to loose the Shallop, and taking a guide with him, and four of our company, went to seeke the Inhabitants, where they met a woman coming for her Lobsters, they told her of them, and concerned her for them. She told them where the people were: *Tigemoon* went to them, the rest remained, having direction which way to bring the Shallop to them.

The Sachem, or Countrey of this place, is called *Obbetumut*, and though he lies in the bottom of the *Massachusetts* bay, yet he is not of *Massachusetts*. He vsed vs very kindly, he told vs, he durst not then remaine in any settled place, for feare of the *Tarrantine*. Also the *Squa Sachem*, or *Massachusetts* Queene was an enemy to him.

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We

NEW-ENGLAND.

We told him of divers Sachems that had acknowledged themselves to be King Da and his men, and if he also would submit himself, we would be his safeguard from his enemies; which he did, and went along with vs to bring vs to the *Squa Sachem*. Against we came to the Bay which is very large, and hath at least fiftie Islands in it: but the certaine number is not knowne to the *Indians*. Night it was before we came to the side of the Bay where this people were. On shore the *Sachem* went but found no body. That night also we lay at Anchor aboard the *Shallop*.

On the morrow we went ashore, about two miles we marched in Armes up in the *Goodway*. Having gone three myles, we came to a place where Corne had beene newly gathered, a house pulled downe, and the people gone. A myle from hence, *Namassutan* their King in his lifetime had lived. His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built, with poole and planks some six foor from ground, and the house vpon that, being situated on the top of a hill.

Not farre from hence in a bottome, we came to a *Fort* built by their deceased King, the manner thus. There were poole some thirte or fower foor long, filled in the ground is thicke as they could be set one by another, and with this they inclosed a ring some forty or fifty foor over. A trench breast high was digged on each side; one way there was a hole into it with a bridge in the midst of the *Palisades* stood the front of an house, the gate being double bayed. On

About a myle from hence, we came to a high mountain, being seated on the top of an hill: here *Namassutan* was killed; none dwelling in it since the time of his death. At this place we stayed, and sent two *Sachems* to take the *Indians* on, and to informe them of our endeavours, comming thither they might not be fearful of vs. Within a myle of this place they found the women of the place together with their Corne on heapes, whither we supposed them to be fled for feare of vs, and the more, because in this place they had newly pulled downe their houses, and for that in one place had left some of their Corne covered with a Mat, and no body with it.

With

With much feare they examined vs a full, but seeing our gentle carriage towards them, they made heart and contentment. We shewed them our powder, our gunnes, our beads and such other things as they had for vs. At length with much sending for came one of their men, looking and trembling for feare. But when he saw we intended them no hurt, but came to trade, he promised vs his kinship. Of him we enquired for their Queen, but informed they were far from thence, at lest we could not find her.

Here *Tigassan* would have had visited the Salvage women, and taken their things, but all such things as might be serviceable for vs; for (sayd he) they are a bad people, and have oft threatned you. But our answer was, Were they neuer so bad, we would not wrong them, of give them any just occasion against vs: for their words we little weighed them; but if they should say any thing against vs, then we would be as fir as we could be desired.

I Having well spent the day, we returned to the Shallop, almost all the Women accompanying vs as they were, who had their beames of our trade beames, and such like about them; but with great shamefull paine, for they were more much charmed with our English women, and committed them to company with them, and they go to keep their skins.

In *William's Bay*, the Salvages say, there are two Kingdoms, the one whereof we live, having a short time since, but we had no thence discovered. Better harbour for shipping and to be used here and there. At the entrance of the Bay are many Rocks, and at all kind of good fishing ground. *James*, one of the Indians here, hath a house, and a boat, being a goodly house, and the people are all good.

Our small growing season, the Wind comming from the West, and being a light Moone, we set out at 10 o'clock, and went to the goodly house, and the people are all good. *James*, one of the Indians here, hath a house, and a boat, being a goodly house, and the people are all good.

LETTER SENT FROM

New England to a friend in these parts,

setting forth a briefe and true Declaration

of the worth of this Plantation.

As also certaine vniuersall Directions

for such as intend a Voyage

into these Parts.



Our good Friend, although
I receiued no Letter from you
by this Ship, yett so much as I
know you expect the perfor-
mance of my promise, which
was, to write unto you truely
and faithfully of all things. I
have therefore at this time sent
vnto you accordingly. Refer-
ring you for further satisfaction

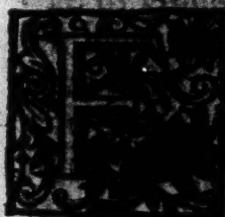
to our more large Relations. You shall vnderstand, that in
this little time, that a few of vs have bene here, we haue build
seuen dwelling houses, and four for the vse of the Planta-
tion; and haue made preparation for diuers other things. We haue
last Spring sowed twentie bushels of Indian Corn, and sowed
some six Acres of Barley & Pease, and according to the man-
ner of the *Indians*, we manured our ground with Herringes or
rather Shaddes, which we haue in great abundance, and take
with great ease at our doores. Our Corn did grow well, &
God be praised, we haue a good harvest of Indian Corn,
and our Barley in sufficient good beere. Pease not worth the
gathering, for we sowed they were too late sowne, they
came vp very well, and blossomed, but the Sunne parched
them

122
I have I am glad to hear of your success in the
vintage of the wine, and that you have
for the first time, and that you have
we perceive that you have been very
intended to be a great success, and that
about the year 1600, and that you have
could be a great success, and that you have
the wine, and that you have been very
fencing, and that you have been very
good, and that you have been very
by the way, and that you have been very
ind in the wine, and that you have been very
was delivered of a great success, and that
others are very well, which is a great
and fared for the fishing business, and that
not but by the blessing of God, the gayne will give content
to all, in the meane time, that we have gotten we have lent
by this ship, and though it be not much, yet it will witness
for vs, that we have not been idle, considering the small
ness of the matter, all this Summer. We hope the Mar-
chants will accept of it, and be encouraged to furnish vs
with things needfull for further employment, which will
also encourage vs to put forth our selves to the uttermost.
Now because I expect your comming vnto vs with other of
our friends, whose companie we much desire, I thought
good to advertise you of a few things needfull, be carefull
to have a very good bread-roome to put your Biskets in,
let your Cask for Beere and Water be Iron-bound for the
first tyme if not more, let not your meat be drie salted, none
can better doe it then the Saylers, let your meale be so hard
trodd in your Cask that you shall need an Ads or Hatcher
to worke it out with: Trust not too much on vs for Cornes
& other things, for by reason of this last company that came,
depending wholly upon vs, we shall have little enough till
harvest, be carefull to come by some of your meale to spend
by the way, it will much refresh you, haile your Cabbins as
open as you can, and bring good store of clothes, and bed-
ding.

[illegible]

Reasons & considerations touching the lawfulness of removing out of

England into the parts of *Florida*.



Orasmuch as many exceptions are daily made The Pream- ble.
against the going into, and inhabiting of for-
raine desert places, to the hinderance of
plantations abroad, and the increase of di-
stractions at home: It is not amisse that some
which have beene eye witnesses of the ex-
ceptions made, and are either Agents or Aberrors of such
removalls and plantations, doe seeke to give content to the
world, in all things that possibly they can.

And although the most of the opposites are such as either
dreame of raising their fortunes here, to that then which
there is nothing more unlike, or such as affecting their
home-borne countrey so vebemently, as that they had ra-
ther with all their friends begge, yea starue in it, then vnder-
goe a little difficultie in seeking abroad, yet are there some
who out of doubt in tendernesse of conscience, and feare to
offend God by running before they be called, are straitned
and doe straiten others, from going to forraine plantations.

For whose cause especially, I have beene drawne out of
my good affection to them, to publish some reasons that
might giue them content and satisfaction, and also stay and
stop the wilfull and wittie caniller: and herein I trust I shall
not be blamed of any godly wise, though thorow my slender
iudgement I should misse the marke, and not strike the naile
on the head, considering it is the first attempt that hath
been made (that I know of) to defend those enterprises.
Reason would therefore, that if any man of deeper reach and
better iudgement see further or otherwise, that he rather in-
struct me, then deride me.

And being studious for breuitie, we must first consider, Cautions.
that whereas God of old did call and summon our Fathers *Gen. 12. 1, 2.*
by predictions, dreames, visions, and certaine illuminations &c. *35. 1.*

Mat. 2. 19.
Psal. 105. 13.

Heb. 1. 1, 2.

Iesh. 5. 12.

Gen. 17. 8.

2 Cor. 5. 1, 2, 3.

So were the
Iewes, but yet
their temporall
blessings and
inheritances
were more
large than ours

to goe from their countries, places and habitations, to reside
and dwell here or there, and to wander vp and downe from
citie to citie, and Land to Land, according to his will and
pleasure. Now there is no such calling to be expected for a-
ny matter whatsoeuer, neither must any so much as imagine
that there will now be any such thing. God did once so traine
vp his people; but now he doth not, but speaks in another
manner, and so we must apply our selues to Gods present
dealing, and not to his wonted dealing: and as the miracle
of giuing *Manna* ceased, when the fruit of the land became
plentie, so God having such a plentifull storehouse of di-
rections in his holy word, there must not now any extraordi-
narie revelations be expected.

But now the ordinarie examples and precepts of the
Scriptures reasonably and rightly vnderstood and applied,
must be the voice and word, that must call vs, presse vs, and
direct vs in euery action.

Neither is there any land or possession now, like vnto the
possession which the Iewes had in *Canaan*, being legally ho-
ly and appropriated vnto a holy people the seed of *Abra-
ham*, in which they dwelt securely, and had their daies pro-
longed, it being by an immediate voice said, that he (the
Lord) gaue it them as a land of rest after their wearie trauels,
and a type of *Eternall* rest in heauen, but now there is no
land of that Sanctimonie, no land so appropriated, none ty-
picall: much lesse any that can be said to be giuen of God to
any nation as was *Canaan*, which they and their seed must
dwell in, till God sendeth vpon them sword or captiuitie: but
now we are all in all places strangers and Pilgrims, trauell-
ers and sojourners, most properly, having no dwelling but in
this earthen Tabernacle: our dwelling is but a wandering,
and our abiding but as a fleeting, and in a word our home is
nowhere, but in the heauens: in that house not made with
hands, whose maker and builder is God, and to which all
ascend that loue the comming of our Lord Iesus.

Though then, there may be reasons to perswade a man to
liue in this or that land, yet there cannot be the same reasons
which the Iewes had, but now as naturall, ciuill and Religious
bands

hundred men, so they shall be heard, and as good reasons
for this contention and heavenly appearance, he does not see fit.
And so here followeth our question, how a man that is here
borne and bred, and hath lived some years, may remove
himselfe into another countrie.

Obiect.

I answer, a man must not respect only to live, and doe
good to himselfe, but he should see where he can live to doe
most good to others: for as one saith, *He whose living is but*

Ans.

for himselfe, it is time he were dead. Some men there are who of
necessitie must here live, as being tied to duties either to
Church, Common-wealth, household, kindred, &c. but o-
thers, and that many, who doe no good in none of those nor
can doe none, as being not able, or not in favour, or as want-
ing opportunitie, and live as outcasts: no bodies, eie-fores,
eating but for themselves, teaching but themselves, and do-
ing good to none, either in soule or body, and so passe over
daies, yeares, and moneths, yea so live and so die. Now such
should lift up their eyes and see whether there be not some
other place and countrie to which they may goe to doe good
and have vie towards others of that knowledge, wisdom, hu-
manitie, reason, strength, skill, facultie, &c. which God
hath given them for the service of others and his owne glory.

What persons
may hence re-
moue.

Why they
should re-
moue.

But not to passe the bounds of modestie so far as to name
any, though I confesse I know many, who sit here still with
their talent in a napkin, having notable endowments both of
body and minde, and might doe great good if they were in
some places, which here doe none, nor can doe none, and yet
through fleshly feare, nicenesse, straitnesse of heart, &c. sit still
and looke on, and will not hazard a dram of health, nor a
day of pleasure, nor an houre of rest to further the know-
ledge and saluation of the sons of *Adam* in that *New world*,
where a drop of the knowledge of Christ is most precious,
which is here not set by. Now what shall we say to such a pro-
fession of Christ, to which is ioyned no more deniall of a
mans selfe? But some will say, what right have I to goe live
in the heathens countrie?

Lat. 19. 20.

Res. 1.

Obiect.

Letting passe the ancient discoveries, contracts and agree-
ments which our English men have long since made in those

Ans.

pass, together with the acknowledged of the histories
and Chronicles of other nations, who possess the land of *A-*
merica from the *Cape De Florida* vnto the Bay of *Canada*
(which is South and North 200. leagues and vpwards; and
East and West, further then yet hath beene discovered) is
proper to the King of England, yet letting that passe, lest I
be thought to meddle further then it concerns me, or further
then I haue discerning: I will mention such things as are
within my reach, knowledge, sight and practise, since I haue
trauailed in these affaires.

Reas. 2.

And first seeing we daily pray for the conuersion of the
heathens, we must consider whether there be not some ordi-
nary meanes, and course for vs to take to conuert them, or
whether praies for them be only referred to Gods extraordi-
nari worke from heauen. Now it seemeth vnto me that we
ought also to endeavour and vse the meanes to conuert them,
and the meanes cannot be vsed vnlesse we goe to them or
they come to vs: to vs they cannot come, our land is full: to
them we may goe, their land is emptye.

Reas. 3.

This then is a sufficient reason to proue our going thither
to liue, lawfull: their land is spacious and void, & there are few
and doe but run ouer the grasse, as doe also the Foxes and
wilde beasts: they are not industrious, neither haue art, sci-
ence, skill or facultie to vse either the land or the commodi-
ties of it, but all spoiles, rots, and is marred for want of ma-
nuring, gathering, ordering, &c. As the ancient Patriarkes
therefore remoued from straiter places into more roomthy,
where the Land lay idle and waste, and none vsed it, though
there dwelt inhabitants by them; as *Gen. 13. 6. 11. 12. and 34.*
21. and 41. 20. so is it lawfull now to take a land which none
vseth, and make vse of it.

Reas. 4.

This is to be
considered as
respecting
new England,
and the territo-
ries about the
plantation.

And as it is a common land or vnused, & vndressed coun-
treys; so we haue it by common consent, composition and a-
greement, which agreement is double: First the Imperial Go-
uernor *Massachusetts*, whose circuits in likelihood are larger then
England and *Scotland*, hath acknowledged the Kings Ma-
iestie of *England* to be his Master and Commander, and that
once in my hearing, yea and in writing, vnder his hand to
Captaine

Captaine Standish, with his many souldiers, hath bene vnder him, as *Pawet, Nauset, Commaquid, Nereobiggonet, Namaschet, &c.* with diuers others that dwell about the bays of *Patuxet*, and *Massachusetts*: neither hath this bene accomplished by threats and blowes, or shaking of sword, and sound of trumpet, for as our facultie that way is small, and our strength lesse: so our warring with them is after another manner, namely by friendly vsage, loue, peace, honest and iust cariages, good counsell, &c. that so we and they may not only liue in peace in that land, and they yeeld subiection to an earthly Prince, but that as voluntaries they may be perswaded at length to embrace the Prince of peace Christ Iesus, and rest in peace with him for euer. Psal. 110. 3.
& 48. 3.

Secondly, this composition is also more particular and applicatorie, as touching our selues there inhabiting: the Emperour by a ioynt consent, hath promised and appointed vs to liue at peace, where we will in all his dominions, taking what place we will, and as much land as we will, and bringing as many people as we will, and that for these two causes. First, because we are the seruants of *James King of England*, whose the land (as he confesseth) is, 2. because he hath found vs iust, honest, kinde and peaceable, and so loues our company; yea, and that in these things there is no dissimulation on his part, nor feare of breach (except our securitie ingender in them some vnthought of trecherie, or our vnciuillitie prouoke them to anger) is most plaine in other Relations, which shew that the things they did were more out of loue then out of feare.

It being then first a vast and emptie *Chaos*: Secondly acknowledged the right of our Soueraigne King: Thirdly, by a peaceable composition in part possessed of diuers of his louing subjects, I see not who can doubt or call in question the lawfulnessse of inhabiting or dwelling there, but that it may be as lawfull for such as are not tied vpon some speciall occasion here, to liue there as well as here, yea, and as the enterprise is weightie and difficult, so the honour is more worthy, to plant a rude wilderness, to enlarge the honour and fame of our dread Soueraigne, but chiefly to displaie the

affliction, the power of the Gospell, and the diligent preaching,
professing, and well walking under it, before the faces of these
poore blinde Infidels.

Prov. 22. 13.

Psal. 49. 5.

Mat. 6. 34.

Amos 8. 9.

Ob.

Ans.

2 Chro. 32. 25.

Gen. 13. 9. 10.

As for such as object the tediousnesse of the voyage thi-
ther, the danger of Pirate robberie, of the savage trecherie,
&c. these are but Lyons in the way, and it were well for such
men if they were in heaven, for who can shew them a place in
this world where iniquitie shall not compass them at the
heel, and where they shall haue a day without griefe, or a
lease of life for a moment; and who can tell but God, what
dangers may lie at our doores, even in our native countrie, or
what plots may be abroad, or when God will cause our sunne
to goe downe at noone daies, and in the midst of our peace
and securitie, lay vpon vs some lasting scourge for our so
long neglect and contempt of his most glorious Gospell.

But we haue here great peace, plentie of the Gospell, and
many sweet delights and varietie of comforts.

True indeed, and farre be it from vs to denie and diminish
the least of these mercies, but haue we rendered vnto God
thankfull obedience for this long peace, whilst other peoples
haue beene at wars? haue we not rather murmured, repined,
and fallen ariars amongst our schies, whilst our peace hath
lasted with forraigne power? was there euer more suits in law,
more enuie, contempt and reproch then now adaies? *Abra-*
ham and *Lot* departed asunder when there fell a breach be-
twixt them, which was occasioned by the straightnesse of the
land: and surely I am perswaded, that howsoeuer the frailties
of men are principall in all contentions, yet the straitnes of
the place is such, as each man is faine to plucke his meanes as
it were out of his neighbours throat, there is such pressing
and oppressing in towne and countrie, about Farmes, trades,
traffique, &c. so as a man can hardly any where set vp a trade
but he shall pull downe two of his neighbours.

The Townes abound with young trades-men, and the
Hospitals are full of the Auncient, the country is replenished
with new Farmers, and the Almshouses are filled with old
Labourers, many there are who get their lining with bearing
burdens, but moe are faine to burden the land with their
whole

whole bodies; multitudes get their meane of life by praying; and so doe numbers more by begging. Neither come these straits vpon men alwaies through intemperancy, ill husbandry, indiscretion, &c. as some thinke, but euen the most wise, sober, and discreet men, goe often to the wall, when they haue done their best, wherein as Gods providence swaileth all, so it is easie to see, that the straitnesse of the place hauing in it so many strait hearts, cannot but produce such effects more and more, so as every indifferent minded man should be ready to say with Father *Abraham*, *Take thou the right hand, and I will take the left*: Let vs not thus oppresse, straiten, and afflict one another, but seeing there is a spacious Land, the way to which is thorow the sea, wee will end this difference in a day.

That I speake nothing about the bitter contention that hath beene about Religion, by writing, disputing, and inueighing earnestly one against another, the heat of which zeale if it were turned against the rude barbarisme of the Heathens, it might doe more good in a day, then it hath done here in many yeares. Neither of the little loue to the Gospell, and profit which is made by the Preachers in most places, which might easily driue the zealous to the Heathens who no doubt if they had but a drop of that knowledge which here flieth about the streetes, would be filled with exceeding great ioy and gladnesse, as that they would euen plucke the kingdome of heauen by violence, and take it as it were by force.

The greatest let that is yet behinde is the sweet fellowship of friends, and the satietie of bodily delights. The last let.

But can there be two neerer friends almost then *Abraham* and *Lot*, or then *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and yet vpon as little occasions as we haue heere, they departed asunder, two of them being Patriarches of the Church of old, the other the Apostles of the Church which is new, and their covenants were such as it seemeth might binde as much as any covenant betwene men at this day, and yet to auoid greater inconueniences they departed asunder.

Neither must men take so much thought for the flesh, as not
to

much enderstand, for he that is upon the light of the sun, can see the whole body. Secondly, the eyes here are not common to all, but many good men are glad to see at a crust. Therentaker lues on sweet morsels, but the rent payer eat a drie crust often with watery eye. And it is nothing to say what some one of a hundred hath, but what the hulke body and cominalty hath, which I warrant you is short enough.

And they also which now lue so luxerly, hardly will their children attaine to that priuiledge, but some circumuenter or other will outstrip them, and make them sit in the dust, in which men are brought in one age, but cannot get out of it againe in 7 generations.

To conclude, without all partialitie, the present consumption which groweth vpon vs here, whilst the land groweth vnder so many close-fisted and vnmercifull men, being compared with the calinesse, plainnesse and plainnesse in liuing in those remote places, may quickly persuade any man to a liking of this course, and to practise a removal, which being done by honest, godly and industrious men, they shall there be right hartily welcome, but for other of dissolute and prophane life, their roomes are better then their companies, for if here where the Gospell hath bene so long and plentifully taught, they are yet frequent in such vices as the Hea-then would shame to speake of, what will they be when there is lesse restraint in word and deed? My onely sure to all men is, that whether they lue there or here, they would leaue to vs this world as they vsed it not, keeping faith and a good conscience both with God and men, that when the day of account shall come, they may come forth as good and fruitful seruaunts, and freely be receiued, and enter into the joy of their master.

FINIS.



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